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ABSTRACT

Twenty essays are provided from an educational scientific symposium organized within the frame of the Festival for Dutch Culture in Hungary. Titles and authors include "Environmental Movement and Environmental Information" J. C. Th. Alles); "Principal Educational and Self-Educational Problems of Independent Activity and Autonomy in Adult and Cultural Education" (Sandor Boros, Matyas Durko); "The Boundaries of Women's Land in Dutch Social Democracy: Some Development in the Political Education of Women in the Period 1933-1983" (Heili Both); "The Role of Voluntary Organizations in Health Education" (H. A. M. van der Drift-van Nies); "Adult Education at the Open University: A Form of Individual Self-Study and/or Voluntary Education" (G. van Enckevort); "Some Problems of the History and Cultural Policy of Voluntarism" (Katalin Fabry, Pal Soos); "A Survey of the Voluntary and Social Aspects of Hungarian Mental Health Activities" (Katalin Fodor, Piros Kovacs); "Government and Voluntary Organizations in the Netherlands: Two Hundred Years of Adult Education and Public Information (1784-1984)" (B. van Gent); "Grass-Roots Public Communication 1: Audio-Visual Communication as a Mediating Practice" (F. Glastra, E. Kats); "Grass-Roots Public Communication 2: Rules and Ideologies in Film Practice" (F. Glastra, E. Kats); "Voluntary Organizations and Social Movements: A Case-Study of the Development of the Institute for Workers' Education and the Dutch Institute for Popular Adult Education and the Friends of Nature, 1924-1986" (Barry Hake); "Voluntary Associations at Miskolc" (Laszlo Harangi); "Putten and Its Voluntary Organizations" (J. Katus); "Voluntary Associations and the State" (C. O. Krudde); "Local Culture, Local Financing" (Eva Kuti, et al.); "The Historical Background of Voluntary Social Activity as It Appears in the Curricula of Adult Educators" (Andor Maroti); "'Inzet,' an Intermediate Organization of the Unemployed" (W. Micke); "The Role of the State of Socio-Cultural Animation" (Katalin Talyigas); "Folk High School Movement and Voluntary Cultural Activity, 1930-1945: A Historical Outline" (Janos Toth); and "Village Experiment: Assessment of the Siomente Village Experiment" (Csaba Varga). (YLB)

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J. Katus and J. Tóth (eds.)

# ON VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS IN HUNGARY AND THE NETHERLANDS

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# FOREWORD

Since the second half of the 1970s a close working relationship has been established between Hungarian and Dutch social scientists in the study of andragogy. One manifestation of this co-operation was the 1984 symposium on Adult Education and Public Information in Hungary and the Netherlands, which was followed by the publication of the symposium papers by the Intitute for Culture, Budapest, in 1985. In the preface to that collection of papers we made reference to the place of co-operation in the field of andragogy within the centuries old tradition of cultural exchange between the Netherlands and Hungary.

This tradition receives a new impulse in the form of the Dutch cultural manifestation in 1986 in Hungary, and the Hungarian cultural manifestation in the Netherlands in 1987. For us, as co-ordinators of the 1984 symposium, it is a particular pleasure that the follow-up symposia planned for 1986 and 1987 can take place in the context of the broader cultural exchange between our two countries.

In the preface to the 1985 collection of papers we expessed the view that the contents displayed only limited homogeneity. We noted that "A more integrated work may only be expected as the result of further and closer co-operation". We trust that the present collection of papers provides evidence of the fruits of our co-operation. At the very least this bundle demonstrates that our current co-operation is particularly concerned with the problematic of voluntary organizations. This emphasis in our co-operation was determined in 1985 on the grounds of the societal significance of these organizations. The importance of voluntary organizations has subsequently increased at the international level with the efforts of governments to stimulate voluntary efforts in coming to terms with social problems. Here we have in mind the recommendation no. R(85)9 of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, and the resolution no. 40/212 of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The political significance of voluntary work and voluntary organizations has been one of the stimuli for the interest of social socientists in these phenomena. There is here a territory which has been largely unexplored by social scientists. This applied equally to the broader international context as to the specific cases of Hungary and the Netherlands.

This collection of papers is the result of the work of many individuals, too many to name them all personally. We do, however, wish to particularly thank the Dutch Ministry of Education and Science and the Hungarian Ministry of Culture and Education who have both made it possible to realise this publication and the symposium.

Budapest/Leiden, October, 1986.

J. Katus, János Tóth

# ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT AND ENVIRONMENTAL INFORMATION

by J. C. Th. Alles

This article concerns the relation between the organized environmental movement in the Netherlands and environmental information.

The text consists of six parts. In the first part the central issue is whether there is in fact something like "the" environmental movement. A rough draft of the development of the environmental movement is given in the next part. Chapter three deals with the intermediate role of the environmental organization: between government and citizen. The fourth part contains descriptions of the concepts "environmental information" and "environmental education" and pays attention to information within environmental organizations. The external information is characterized in chapter five and finally I comment on some specific problems of information by environmental organizations.

## "The" environmental movement?

The concept "environmental movement" refers to all sorts of activities of people on behalf of the quality of the physical environment of life. It is a matter of resistance against the threat of animals and plants; against the deterioration of the landscape; against pollution and the exhaustion of natural resources.
When these activities are coordinated in voluntary associations there is an organized environmental movement.
Environmental organizations in the Netherlands are supported financially by their members or other supporters. Sometimes they are subsidized by the government. To some extent all environmental organizations depend on volunteers: people who participate in the work of the organization without being paid. These volunteers carry out actions, are engaged in information and public relations, participate in scientific research, carry out maintenance work in nature reserves etc.

The role of volunteers in the organized environmental movement is not unequivocal. This has to do with the fact that the environmental movement in the Netherlands doesn't form a homogeneous whole. "The" environmental movement exhibits a broad range of ideologies, opinions, purposes, strategies, target groups, organizational structures etc. The organizations also differ in the degree of professionalization, the stability of the organization, the legal position and the type of participation of the members of the organization.

There are large, formal organizations with an extensive budget and a professional staff of paid employees. Usually they have thousands of passive members, who confine their support to giving money. The number of active members in this sort of organizations is usually rather small.

There are also purely local action groups without a professional know-how, without money, without facilities, without any formal structure worth mentioning, which means their members are always active themselves.

Seen from another point of view "the" environmental movement is also more heterogeneous than the word suggests. Environmental organizations and groups are being sectioned, on the basis of their strategy, in categories like "reformistic", "radical", "soft", "hard" etc. Characteristic of the strategy of reformistic organizations is, that they try to reach their aims by consultation with the authorities and with industry, their means are persuasion and negotiation. The reformistic strategy is the strategy of the small steps forward. Radical or hard organizations choose a different sort of strategy: they demonstrate, occupy buildings, block roads, do not use the existing structures for consultation and do not accept gradual changes of policy.

However, categories like "reformistic" or "radical" seem to lose their usefulness when one tries to characterise larger organizations. Within such organizations there are often various trends: sometimes, in some issues, the "deliberation movement" wins, at other times, in other issues, the organization decides for hard actions.

Simple concepts for the strategy of the organization as a whole, tend to conceal the internal heterogenity.

## History

According to several authors (1, 2, 3) the organized environmental movement in the Netherlands dates from the end of the previous and the beginning of this century. The oldest voluntary association for the protection of nature is the Dutch Association for the Protection of Birds, it dates from 1899. Environmental organizations in the formal sense of the word are a relatively new phenomenon. This does not alter the fact that the deterioration of the natural environment has existed for a long time. Already centuries ago the Dutchmen worried about the quality of the natural environment and took his measures to retrieve and protect the environment that had been damaged by himself. The inhabitants of the island of Ameland, who in the early days used bent-grass to cover their roofs and for making floor mats, were obliged in the beginning of the 18th century by means of official orders not to cut more grass than they needed and to protect dispersing dunes with new plants and seaweed (4, p. 122). This example illustrates the oldist motive for restoring damages to nature: clear self-interest.

The first phase in the development of environmental organizations in the previous century is characterised by the ambition to protect areas and landscapes that were considered valuable. This ambition didn't fall from heaven. Nature-lovers, grown up in the romantic climate of "back to nature" began to see with their own eyes the traces of the growing polulation and of industrialization in nature and landscape. The acquisition of threatened areas and the founding of nature reserves were typical reactions for this phase of development. Well-known in the Netherlands is the acquisition of the Naardermeer (a lake that is especially important for its birds) by the Society for the Promotion of Nature Reserves: a move against the plans of the Amsterdam authorities to use that lake as a dumping ground for household refuse.

According to Van der Loo c.s. and Tellegen the environmental movement started to change after 1960. To begin with, the number of members and followers of the existing organizations grew strongly and various new types of organized environmental actions appeared. The nature of the changes was not only quantitative, but also qualitative. A new environmental awareness appeared. An essential element of this new way of thinking and feeling about nature and environment is, according to Van der Loo c.s., to be indicated with the concept of "holism". This means, that environmental problems were considered now in their relation to each other. The complete natural environment on earth began to form the new framework of reference for the problems in the immediate environment. Many people came to the conclusion that the planet Earth should be considered as a closed system and that Man is responsible for irreparable damages to that system. People also realized, that the now used stocks of natural elements and the present resources of energy are going to be exhausted in the near future.
These ideas have undoubtedly contributed to the appearance of new and different environmental organizations. According to several authors the Dutch environmental movement has been politicized in the course of time: the movement started to pay attention to the distribution of power in society (1, p. 26). New organizations and groups appeared that wanted radical action and did not avoid a confrontation with the authorities.

What do we know about the present situation of the environmental movement in the Netherlands?

There are several attempts to map the rather chaotic environmental movement. In the province of Groningen (where I live) there is a brochure published every year, which contains tens of names of environmental organizations institutions and groups that are active in the province.
Van der Loo c.s. estimate that there are 250,000 passive and active followers of the organized environmental movement in the Netherlands. This estimation

is probably rather unreliable and it's not quite clear whom these authors define as "followers": they seem to exclude (unknown numbers of) "paper" members, donors, registered readers of magazines on nature and environment.

This reservation does not remove the fact that hundreds of thousands of people in the Netherlands support the environmental movement financially, are subscribers of a magazine on environmental subjects or participate in one way or another in the work of an organization or group.

The largest environmental organization is the Society for the Promotion of Nature Reserves, a voluntary association with 250,000 members. This association focusses on the acquisition and conservation of nature reserves. The acquisition of the reserves is made possible by the members and by the government: the government gives important subsidies.

Another important organization is the Association for the Protection of the Waddensea. The Waddensea is a shallow inland sea at the North coast, it is especially important as "maternity room" for young fish and as an area where birds hibernate and feed themselves. In 1965 the government wanted to reclaim the area and alarmed citizens then formed the Association for the Protection of the Waddensea.

Recently some umbrella-organizations were founded: nine large environmental organizations are united in the National Environment Concultation, subsidized by the government.

## Between authorities and citizen

From a certain point of wiew the present position of environmental organizations is the position of intermediate: between citizen and authority, between citizen and industry. Here I want to pay some attention to the intermediate position between authority and individual citizen.

The psychological distance between environmental organizations and the authorities varies.

Some organizations receive important subsidies from the national, provincial or local authorities, they have frequent consultations with them and have professional know-how at their disposal. The authorities respect them for their expert knowledge and their power. Although these organizations (for example: the Society for the Promotion of Nature Reserves) are independent in the formal sense of the word they cannot themselves to cool down too much the relation with the authorities. Subsidies create dependency, but that doens't mean that such an organization is completely unprotected against interference from outside. Official recognition by the authorities limits the freedom of the authorities and besides, the people concerned (the officials, the employees of the environmental organization) know and respect each other.

For other environmental organizations the distance to the authorities is much larger. This distance is often, for reasons of independency, chosen by the organizations. Sometimes official regulations prevent an organization from becoming too dependent on external subsidies. The rules of the Association for the Protection of the Waddenzee say, that the Association may only depend on subsidies to a certain percentage of its budget.

Without any pretention to be complete in my description I distinguish three important intermediate roles of environmental organizations.

In the firts place the environmental organizations have a function to mobilize and activate those citizens that have wishes with respect to the environmental policy of the authorities. The organization creates environmental awareness and combines powers. The citizen gets new alternatives for action and has a stronger position in his attempts to influence policy.

In the second place the environmental organization functions as a link between the information-producing citizen and the information-using authorities. Citizens point out environmental problems and evaluate policy or policy plans. The environmental organization brings these observations and evaluations to the attention of the authorities.

In the third place environmental organizations can play a role in the implementation of the environmental policy of the government and other authorities at a lower level. In some cases the social support for the official policy may be enlarged by means of the information and education by the environmental organizations (though these organizations do not like to consider themselves as a public relations bureau for the authorities).

## The concept of "environmental information". Internal and external information

The concept of environmental information has been defined by Huitsing (6) as informing people about the environmental policy, the environmental legislation and about observing environmental regulations. Environmental education is for him a more comprehensive notion, it implies discovery of and getting acquainted with the environment as a whole and learning how to handle that environment. Usually education takes more time than information. The participants in a process of education are involved in the process in a different way. Information aims, more explicitly than in a process of education, at taking a decision or forming an opinion in a concrete matter. It is often difficult and sometimes impossible to make a clear and useful distinction between environmental education and environmental information. In the United States of America, in England and in France "education" is preferably used as umbrella-concept. For this text I prefer the expression "environmental information" because I write in the first place about the transfer of information in connection with concrete envrionmental matters.

After all it can be said, that environmental organizations frequently combine different activities such as the recruitment of new members and supporters, propaganda for the organization and public relation in one word: environmental information. In practise this concept is not used in an very puristic way.

Information by environmental organizations falls apart into two main types: internal information on behalf of the members or supporters of the organization and external information for the benefit of target groups outside the own system. The latter type gets most attention in this text, but some things about internal information cannot be left unsaid.

The internal information in large organizations serves three purposes:
the promotion of democracy and efficiency within the organization,
the mobilization and activation of the members and
the committing the members to the organization.
There is a relationship between the internal information and the legal form of the organization. The largest environmental organizations in the Netherlands have the structure of an association with members and an administration chosen by these members. That administration uses internal information to justify their polixy to the members, to lay new projects before the members, to instruct them how to implement accepted policy, to prepare future meetings of the association etc.
The second function of internal information is the mobilization and activation of members. Usually the larger environmental organizations have a majority of passive members, but passive members are potentially active members and when the organization needs active members for local groups, for actions etc. it will look for them in the crowd of passive members. The organization can do that in several ways, varying from personal contact with passive members to activation of passive members by means of a publication in the organization's magazine.
In the third place internal information is directed at the retaining of members and supporters, and the like. This internal function is not unimportant. All environmental organizations in the Netherlands have an interest in the retention of members: if the number of members is decreasing there are fewer possibilities for action, there is less money, professional workers must be dismissed, projects must be stopped or continued at a lower level. Such developments threaten to bring the organization into a spiral downwards.
The question can be asked whether internal information can stop those members who plan to leave the organization. The correct answer to this question might be: frequently they won't, sometimes they will. Scientific investigation showed that part of the former members of the National Association for the Protection of the Waddensea had left because one wished to invest its money into another useful purpose of nature conservation. Internal information might have stopped those people and might have kept them in the organization for some more time. A useful means to keep members may be the periodical publication of successes. Many active and passive supporters of the environmental movement know from their own experience the feeling of fighting against windmills. Information about successes (however small they may be) can fight this environmental defaitism.

External information by environmental organizations may refer to a variety of subjects and may be aimed at a variety of target groups. The subject can be topical and concrete (during an excursion in nature a guide provides information about the percentage of trees infected by air pollution, the participants can observe the damage themselves and on the spot) but it may also refer to environmental matters of a more general nature which cannot be observed by members of the target group (for example the expected ecological damage caused by the laying out of a military drill-ground in a nature monument).

## Characteristics of external information by environmental organization

The information by the environmental movement in the Netherlands can be characterized to some degree with the help of six questions:

- who gives the information?
- what does the information refer to?
- what is its purpose?
- who is the information aimed at?
- in what way is the information given?
- what is its effect?

Within the brief space of this text it is impossible to give a more or less reliable and complete summary of the voluntary associations which provide environmental information.

As far as I know a taxonomy of purposes of environmental information, matching these voluntary associations, does not exist at all.

A rather provisional inventory of systems, giving information about the Waddensea, already produced dozens of individual sources of information! (8)

In this text I confine myself to mentioning three important national organizations in the field of environmental information and education.

A well-known organization is the Institute for Conservation Education: an association that expects from its members that they are active in the field environmental education. The Institute tries to stimulate environmental awareness by organizing several educative activities. The 130 local groups of the association organize walks in nature reserves, expositions, courses and excursions. At the central bureau of the association all sorts of educational material are prepared.

A second organization that has information and education as its main purpose is the Foundation for Environmental Education. This organization wants to inform the public about environmental problems and human well-being in our society. For this purpose it published the bimonthly "Milieu Educatie" (Environmental Education). The editors of this magazine want to be engaged in the construction of theories and in the practical application of educational theory.

In the third place I mention the National Center of Support for Environmental Education, in which national and provincial organizations cooperate.

The network of targetgroups of a large environmental organization can be quite complicated. Large environmental organizations work at the micro and at the macro level. The Association for the Protection of the Waddensea exhibits an example of the great extent and the complexity of the system of (potential) target groups of a large organization:
this organization has to do with various departments of the central government, with a coordinating Minister for the Waddensea area, with an Interdepartmental Waddensea Board, with three provinces, 28 local municipalities with a Coordinating Board in which the various governmental levels meet.
The organization has also to do with an Advisory Council for the Waddensea Area, with the people that live in the area, with farmers, with those who visit the area for purposes of recreation, with managers in industry, the unions, the military, the fishermen, with the educational system in the Netherlands, in fact with all 14 million Dutchmen.
I think that many environmental organizations don't know enough about their target groups as a result of their lack of time, money and know-how. In such cases there is no deliberate choice, classification and segmentation of target groups. One can easily be trapped into aiming the information at those categories of people that seem to be already vulnerable to the information: at the critical citizen who is interested in environmental problems, at political friends. Though it is understandable to choose now and then for such an approach this choise of target groups does not exactly serve the purpose of a qualitative broadening of the environmental movement and a broad basis for environmental policy is often necessary for the implementation of that policy.

The environmental information in the Netherlands can also be seen from the point of view the information means. There are plenty of brochures, films, sets of colour slides, teaching instructions, material for expositions. There are visitor centers in or at the edge of nature reserves, every year thousands of people participate in excursions. It will not be easy to find a Dutch citizen of six years and over who never in his or her life got into contact with any form of environmental information and education!
Unfortunately there are not yet accessible, well provided and frequently used data-banks in which the available material is stored. This situation is going to be changed, but I am afraid that today the wheel keeps to be invented in many places because the educators are informed inadequately about the educational material that is produced outside their own working environment and therefore they cannot benefit from the work of others. There is for instance much educational material about the Waddensea, individually produced by all sorts of educators for use at primary and secondary schools. The National Center of Support for Environmental Education and the universities could contribute substantially to the registration of existing material.

Scientific research of the effects of environmental information is still rather rare, in particular very little is known about the durability of effects. The methodological problems of this type of research are substantial,

among other things because of the fact that, in general, it is not easy to isolate the effects of information and to exclude from outside.
Of course research costs money too and in recent years the expenses for social research were cut down considerably.

Especially in het United States of America but also in the Netherlands (9, 10) there has recently been carried out some good research about the determinants of individual environmental behaviour and about the role of environmental education in this case. In several cases the investigators have found that environmental awareness does not automatically lead to a change of behaviour. This research finding should be interesting for those environmental organizations that are aiming at behavioural change by means of the creation of environmental awareness, but it is also interesting for the investigator who is confronted with a number of stimulating questions for research (see: Ester and Van der Linden, 11, p. 179).
Generally speaking it is probable that the induction of information has only direct effects on behaviour if the receiver has a clear and concrete picture of the desired alternative for action and is able to form an opinion on the advantages and disadvantages of the various alternatives.
In the Netherlands some good research has been carried out about the effects of information given to people in visitor centres in nature reserves (12, 13, 14).

## Some specific problems concerning information by environmental organizations

The environmental movement has not the monopoly of environmental education. Her most important partner is the government. The Dutch government actively provides environmental information and in a certain sense that is the government's obligation: there is a law that obliges the government to inform the citizens about her acts and plans and this law does not exclude environmental matters.
In the field of environmental education the government has the special function of providing the means.
The government does not only engage in environmental information and education because that is a legal obligation, but also because governmental policy needs some support by the citizens. Information and education may be seen as means to create or broaden the social basis for governmental policy.
What is the relation between government and environmental movement in matters of environmental information and education? What problems are characteristic of the information by the environmental movement? These two questions will be treated briefly in the sixth and last part of this text.

The information by the government is carried out by government officials. Every large municipality has its own information official, every province has its information department where several people are employed and last the central government has several departments for internal and external relations and a State Information Service. Even specific governmental organizations, like the State Forestry Service, have their own information department.

In the environmental movement the initial situation is structurally different. Only the largest organizations have engaged paid professionals for the information work. By far the most cases information and education are practised by volunteers without any special professional training for their work. Normally that volunteer does not function in a clear, formalized, stable structure, but in a network that is considerably more loose into which people come and go and affairs are mostly handled in an informal way.

I presume that the work of professional educators in large environmental organizations has a strong resemblance with the activities of their collegues in governmental service. On the contrary the voluntary educator finds himself in a completely different position. He is not supported by a professional training, his group or organization does not offer a stable frame of reference and frequently his organization asks in the first place for action and not for information and education. One can have doubts about the effectivity of the work done by these voluntary educators, but to this I want to add that the volunteer has perhaps at one point the advantage over others. In general he knows the details of the target group and of the situation, in which the information must be given, better than the professional at the office of the organization, better than the government official of a province or of the central government. We do not know how frequently this advantage is there and how important it is. We know neither how serious the lack of professional training is, nor whether a handicap like that can be counterbalanced by dedication and charisma. Also in these matters scientific research could be useful.

A second specific factor concerning the information by the environmental movement forms the image of this movement. In the spring of 1983 I interviewed people who worked or lived in the Eemsmond area. The Eemsmond is an estuary in the Eastern part of the Waddensea. These interviews did not exhibit a unanimously expressed positive reputation of the environmental movement. Members of this movement and especially members of the Association for the Protection of the Waddensea were qualified as biased, tiresome, fanatical, intolerant, undemocratic, undecent, noisy, rude, fond of publicity and not willing to look for compromises. Though such qualifications are not heard everywhere and about every group and organization within the environmental movement, the message sounds familiar. This phemonemo is in some respects the inevitable consequence of a clash of interest, but that is not the complete story. Much research reveals that the effectivity of information processes depends in many ways on the credibility of the educator and therefore it is important for every organization with educational purposes to care for its image. Within the environmental movement there is perhaps some hesitation to care for public relations because this is considered to be a concession to a publicity society, the message in itself should be enough. Unfortunately the message proves to be not enough, in most cases. It is easy to transmit the message that young, soft, melancholically looking and very caressable seals may no longer be killed by evil men in a faraway country, for the transmission of this message the educator does not need much credibility. However, he does need this credibility in his battle against air pollution: the tops of the trees are not very caressable and the rain seems to be innocent. In transmission situations like these the environmental movement meets prejudice: the environmental movement is blamed for being against progress, for wanting to return to a primitive, pre-industrial society, for ignoring the fact that the ecological system changes inevitably and irreversibly where people are together. A manager of a large plant said to me: We shall never make up, one morning, look out of our window, and say: look, the aurochs are back. Instead we shall look and say: look, there are now blocks of houses." The environmental movement would do a wise thing to remain aware of the resistances that exist against her message. Some resistances can no doubt be prevented.

## And finally

In recent years the environmental policy in the Netherlands has exhibited all sorts of attempts to structure the situation: The government presents a more-years-program for environmental policy (17), environmental organizations meet each other in umbrella-structures and also in the field of social research the period of incoherence and of work without real programs seems to near its end (18). These developments are hopeful and necessary. The Netherlands, one of the most densely polulated countries in the world, cannot permit itself an inadequate environmental policy.

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# PRINCIPAL EDUCATIONAL AND SELF-EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS OF INDEPENDENT ACTIVITY AND AUTONOMY IN ADULT AND CULTURAL EDUCATION

by Dr. Sándor Boros and Dr. Mátyás Durkó

## 1. Introductory remarks

The choice of the subject of the present seminar seems to be justified. The question of the role and understanding of independent activity and autonomy is a turning point in Hungary and abroad as well concerning both the socio-political life and the organization, content, and methodology of education and culture. The answer to the question is of basic importance in both the conventional and the modern practice and attitude.

That is why the major purposes of our paper are to contribute to the classification of the terms 'independent activity' and 'autonomy', to that of their significance in the process of education and cultural education with a special reference to the socio-political aspect as well as to outline those basic problems that appear to be important from the point of view of anthropagogy and andragogy. What follows below is a matter of raising and expounding problems rather than providing mature and final definitions which can be reached at only after their being tested in and corrected by practice and experience.

## 2. Independent activity, autonomy, and the development of personality

2.1. The development of personality takes place in the process of socialization. Gilinskii /1/ wrote: "Society continuously reproduces itself during the course of which it produces the social man, and this social man who reproduces himself in all his social aspects and relations simultaneously reproduces society as well." In this process he reproduces himself in a complex activity which is primarily aimed at production and the establishing of living conditions, the acquirement of the previous and present cultural achievements of mankind and which is characterized by his adapting himself to the tasks he faces. This is the complex activity during which he turns out to be a modern social man. Thus, following its psychic nature, the change of personality is self-development which is always connected to some form of the individual. This fact, more than anything, underlines the significance of independent activity in the development of the personality. According to this, the personality's activity of a higher degree in certain fields results in a more considerable development of perception, intellectual activity, and the paths and centres of the nervous system.

Analysing the inner nature of this independent activity, György Horváth /2/ pointed out that it has three levels or grades. First, it may be present in a natural, imperceptible, self-evident, non-conscious, and spontaneous activity concerning manners, morals, and fashions. Second, it may appear in such forms of activity which are considered to be required and accepted by public opinion and common sense. Third, independent activities may be conducted freely and consciously. According to another classification, based on the characteristics of the environmental effects and the personality's reactions to them, this personality-forming independent activity can be connected to three different forms of activity: /a/ productive work and all kinds of actions contributing to the development of the society or a community, and creating individual and family living conditions, generally called "spontaneous education"; /b/ recreation, entertainment, education through entertainment, and getting information, generally called "activity for recreation and education through entertainment"; and /c/ purposeful education, self-education, and learning.

The process of both education and self-education is at least bipolar (it is, in fact, a complex of activities and influences of various kinds but at least bipolar). On the one hand, it contains the element of social, communal, and educational influences coming from a higher point of development, and, on the other hand, it involves the reaction of the participants to these influences in a form of independent activity being partly or wholly identical with, or different from, them. /3/

It is very important to understand that an actual personality-forming process in the case of education and cultural education will be initiated only if participants feel compelled to conduct such an effective independent activity which, according to the wellknown biological and psychological laws, is closely related to the change of personality, i.e. which results in new experiences and knowledge, new skills and proficiencies, new patterns of behaviour and manners. The effectiveness of this provoked or independent activity of the participants can be considered first as the root of self-education, and later as the manifestation of its strengthening, as a result of which the participant of the educational process becomes not only the object but also the subject of his own development. This is one of the fundamentals of Makarenko's pedagogy. As B.G. Ananiev /4/ put it: "By this Makarenko has revealed the most important pedagogical law: the transformation of education into self-education". Basically the same idea is expressed by Kochetov /5/ when he says that a "child always participates in his own development but it takes different forms. Self-education is the highest but not the only form of self-development, self-perfection. There are other (and lower) forms such as... adaptation to adults, conformity to the community, intuitive and conscious adaptation and imitation".

> So the capability for self-education is born in the process of education starting and developing with the above described forms of unconscious or half-conscious reactions leading to those of purposeful and conscious self-formation and self-education.

This feature is equally true of the development of undereducated adults and children. Therefore, it is of primary importance in all forms of education to develop the inner psychic conditions of self-education in the participants, and, on the whole, to realize the dialectics of education and self-education.

2.2. In order to learn more about the nature and progress of this feature, it was necessary to get closer to the understanding of the educational process. In Hungary, too, the best source proved to be the theory of Professor Ten Have, founder of the Dutch school of adult education, which has become known in Hungarian through the translation of Ger van Enckevort's /6/ "Andragology is a new science". According to this theory, the educational process will be realized only if all of its elements are realized conforming to an inherent logic. The major elements are as follows: /1/ finding one's way in the realm of values, ideals, and requirements; /2/ the educator's evaluation of the individual's (group's) state of development; /3/ the setting of educational aims and programs based on the comparison of the first two elements; /4/ the actual realization of these aims and programs which is primarily a process of acquiring culture; and /5/ the evaluation of the achieved results as compared to the aims and expectation. Following this line, our further investigations have proved that, as a result, and during the course of education, all these elements will give rise to parallel forms of self-education in the participating persons (children, adolescents, or adults). This process is not spontaneous but rather dependent on the extent to which they play an actual role in the process of education. The corresponding psychic conditions are the major components of the capability for self-education. These conditions include /1/ finding one's way independently in the world of needs, values, requirements, and ideals; /2/ self-diagnosis and, especially, the rise of an inner motivation for self-education; /3/ an ability for planning one's own self-education and for self-prediction; /4/ an ability for self-governing in order to realize one's own self-development program; and /5/ an ability for the independent evaluation of the achieved results and the whole process of self-education. The components of the educator's activity and those of the pupil's self-education are complementary pairs in a dialectic relationship. Each element of the educational process will be realized only by their mutual influence. If the self-educational elements are not sufficiently developed--and, as we have referred to it earlier, they do not progress spontaneously but show different levels of development depending on the effectiveness of their being put into practice and functioning--, they must be made more effective by the corresponding educational element. Thus, the proportion of the educational and self-educational elements is not constant but mobile and dynamic. This is where we can come across the paradox of education since the primary aim of education is to make itself unnecessary so that it should be replaced by the process of self-education. This, however, can never be achieved completely. As we have seen earlier, education cannot be fully realized without some degree of self-education, and, similarly, self-education cannot exist without at least some form of indirect help. The point is that the various components of self-education require different forms, approaches, and methods of education depending on their level of development. /7/

2.3. At this point we have to turn to the other basic category of our seminar i.e. the term 'autonomy'. The term itself generally refers to independence, and self-government, and in relation to education, to inculcate a spirit of independence, and teaching the individual to be able to organize his own life, activities, education, etc. Analysing the personality background of autonomy in his work "L'éducation demain", Bertrand Schwartz interpretes the term in the following way: "In this sense independence means that the individual possesses the necessary knowledge, skills, and a certain amount of automatism by the help of which he can respond to all kinds of situations... To reach the state of autonomy presupposes the following steps:
- being able to understand his environment,
- being able to identify himself in relation to his environment, and
- being able to influence his environment in an active way." /8/

So much of the interpretation of the term 'autonomy' must be enough to prove that the capability for independence and self-governing is in close connection with the fully developed state of self-education, being complementary to each other. Therefore, the process, or ontogenesis, of becoming 'mature' for autonomy is a necessary part of the process of reaching the level of self-education, and finally, it can be considered a qualitatively new degree of socialization, the level of a relatively independent and autonomous self-educational process of the adult human being.

Further below follows a summary of what psychic conditions are required for a man to be considered mature for self-education. The answer to this question is of twofold significance. On the one hand, it throws light upon the most important components of the advanced capability for self-education which are to be possessed by the personality of a mature adult providing, at the same time, the total set of psychic conditions of the maturity for autonomy. On the other hand, by answering this question, we can see what human capabilities should be aimed at as an educational task during the previous stage, i.e. the period of the formation of capabilities for self-education. Rendered according to the inner logic of the educational process, the psychic abilities of a man mature for self-education are the following:

/a/ Independent acquirement of knowledge, the capability for gathering information and for evaluation, which will all support self-orientation in the realm of changing conditions of life, needs, aims, ideals, values, patterns, and the examples of others; in short, the capability for self-orientation, getting information and evaluation.

Here belongs another factor, the self-motivation for self-education and permanent acquirement of universal knowledge which derives from an inner need under the influence of the above capability. (Although the formation of this self-motivation is, after all, influenced by each element of the educational process, in the whole process the domineering force is the self-orientation in the world of needs, values, norms, and examples.)

/b/ Our knowledge, capabilities, and qualities depend on a real, self-evaluating orientation in the realm of our values and deficiencies, i.e. the capability for self-knowledge, self-analysis, and self-diagnosis.

/c/ According to the above-stated, the individual must be able to set the aim of self-development (evaluating his knowledge), self-training (developing capabilities, skills, and proficiencies) as well as self-education in a stricter sense (forming his qualities, attitudes, and behaviour). In other words, the capability for effective planning is required in the field of self-development self-training, and self-education alike. This capability for, and attitude towards, the planning of self-development includes the selection of adequate forms and means, the setting of a life-program, and self-prognosis. This life-program will contain, as its organic part, the program of the active formation of the environment, which is the highest level of being adapted to life-roles.

/d/ Urging and forcing ourselves to realise the determined aims of self-education and life-formation, i.e. the capability for self-governing. It involves the establishment and application of self-restraint and activating (self-forcing) will-power.

/e/ The capability for the self-evaluation of the process of self-development and self-education, i.e. the recognition of the achievements and failures of the actual development.

2.4. An especially emphatic aspect of the question discussed here is the application of self-government and autonomy in the socio-political life as well as in adult education and cultural life. Concerning the socialist countries, in the light of the resolutions and programs of the XXVIIth Congress of the CPSU and of those of the XIIIth congress of the HSWP it can be stated that both the further development of party democracy and the increasing of the organisational conditions of socialist democracy have become an organic part of the national programs. As it has been found in a recent research study /9/, in Hungary "the experience of the cooperative movement serves as an example... The success of the agricultural cooperatives is primarily due to self-government and the existence and functioning of cooperative democracy, sometimes not free from conflicts... Most recently, however, it is the experience of the cooperatives that has led to the introduction of new forms of management in the industry". At the same time, the above quoted study gives a sharp criticism of the conditions pointing out that "the cooperative democracy has been degraded almost to the level of some "other-ist" democracies...where it has adopted the practice, common in political life, according to which members of various bodies are selected not on the basis of competence but following the inadequate principle that "everybody should be represented'." (The principle of competence must be the dominant one in cultural democracy as well!)

The European bourgeois democracies discussed the directives and experiences of political and cultural democracy at their international conference held in Norway in 1975. /10./ They consider the procedure called "participation" as a conservative form being not completely adequate to the characteristic nature of adult education. The essence of this procedure is that the adult educators recommend programs to the participants who are free only to decide whether or not they want to take part in them. In contrast with it, they aim at the realisation of what they call "autogestion" (self-determination, self-governing) in adult education. In this case the studying group itself -- with the aid of the educators -- should become the creator of the subject and program of learning. Let us add to this that even if the previous creation and recommendation of adult educational programs and the assignment of a definite and required material by the educators seem to be important for the social efficiency of adult education, it is equally or even more important to strive for the establishment of totally self-governed educational (cultural) communities. Based on this, Kallen's conclusion is that "permanent education has to set up a new system which is built on autogestion and need not be fully integrated in the traditional fram work of education". Another significant statement of his is that "autogestion has to develop first within the society so that is should grow into the education." /11/ It is a justifiably critical remark but, at the same time, it is suitable for calling the attention to the progressivity of the grades of self-governed communities from the self-governed cultural communities to the self-governed social communities. In this respect there is really a dialectical relationship between the two spheres. Political democracy is an essential precondition for educational democracy. On the other hand, one of the important manifestations of social democracy is educational democracy, and the latter may be a major "educational scene" for the development of the inner psychic conditions of autonomy, self-government, and self-education in the participants. This, however, requires very important conditions of content, management, and methodology. (One of the issues to be discussed during our seminar may be the evaluation of these experiences.) Besides, it is also in close connection with another cultural category, i.e. cultural democracy since it can be realized only through the self-governed cultural activity of the people. Our main question is this: is the legally mature layer of our society suitable for full autonomy, a highly developed form of self-education? Certainly not on the whole! A not insignificant number of grown-ups-nearly the half, or, according to some research studies /12/, less than the half of the whole lot is definitely mature for adulthood, self-education, and autonomy. But the other half, or a larger part is not. Our practical educational tasks have to be understood and organized correspondingly.

3. The most difficult practical and theoretical problems concern that layer whose members stay away from cultural activities and adult education because

of their unfavourable financial, social, working, schooling, and educational circumstances. These people, considered to be "at a cultural disadvantage have been a more and more important and hopeless issue at scientific discussions ever since the Tokyo world-conference. Socialist cultural and adult-educational policy cannot be indifferent towards them since it is an essential social and human responsibility to recruit them for cultural activity, to solve the problem of "a motivational invitation", and thereby to extend the sphere of influence of cultural education and adult education. The theoretical basis of this problem is an indirect consequence of the "autonomy" of the legally mature: considering his social position and age, the legally mature has the right for human equality, respect, and appreciation. The most important task is to acknowledge the social and psychic characteristic features of the given personality -- even if they are not favourable --, and his actual level of motivation and development. Any individual can be motivated, developed and approached only from the poing or level where he actually is. The first rule of motivating or putting someone on his way is the "law of exchange", i.e. the capability for adapting to the individual's position, way of thinking, and circumstances.

Practical consequences: it is necessary to get rid of the dangerous "aristocratism" of adult education which can think only in terms of adult education. We have to return to the whole existence of the legally mature including all the aspects of his financial, existencial, social, standard-of-life, hygienic, recreative, domestic, legal, psycho-hygienic, etc. circumstances, and only relying on these can we understand the essential needs, and interests of such a man and find those possible links that may connect him to cultural activities and adult education. In this case there is a need for a sensibility and ability to foresee those changes in production and social life that will raise new cultural requirements on the basis of which new cultural needs may be provoked in man.

In Hungary the whole concept of the "open-house"-like cultural houses is based on this. This is the only way we can organically build the work of the cultural houses into the spheres of needs and interests of the various wide layers of the society and only this way can cultural activity become an essential need in life. Later on, this can prove to be the basis of planning inductive, "growing-from-below"-like adult educational programs, of a methodology analysing and generalizing a whole set of experiences, and of a "motivational further development".

3.1. The second layer requiring adragogical tasks consists of people who are also not yet mature for full autonomy and self-education but who, relying on their previous experiences, have a need for joining in cultural activity and the services of adult education, and who appreciate culture and expect some help from education.

The first thing to emphasize is that people in this layer also want to enforce the consequences of their being legally mature both in adult education, and in cultural education, ranging from the principle of voluntary participation to the actual participation in the whole process of programming, applying, and evaluating their cultural activity. (Cf. what has been said about autogestion and self-government above.) The theoretical problem of education here is

> to assure the quality of the given adult educational activities, and the effectiveness of the actual personality-forming and educating aspects of the common activity for the acquirement of culture, as well as the inner methodological refinement of the activities.

An issue of primary importance here is again the reciprocity of programming, i.e. the recommendation of rich programs built on a mutual participation initiated "from below", and providing conditions which can satisfy all kinds of needs and requirements. The really difficult problem comes only after this: how to set up priorities between the activities providing entertainment and education through entertainment and those assuring a more significant enrichment of the self? The third element of this problem is to work out how to organize cultural programs so that they should support an actual development of interests, and the arousing of higher-level cultural needs on the basis of which a "motivational leading-through" can be achieved from the elementary, entertaining-recreative forms of cultural activity to its higher forms of educating and refining.

The solution of this question requires a special and new method: by rationally decreasing and selecting the concrete body of knowledge, it is necessary to provide time and possibllity for a new, experimental-empirical form of activity which is based on autonomy, and the cooperative work of adult educators and participants, and which which develops and trains intellectual capacity, worldview, attitude, and orientation. /13/ We have to realize that, in the re-structuring of the individual's way of thinking, relying on an inductive-empirical method which revives the participants' experiences and knowledge gained from everyday life, mass communication and books, in order to organize them into a scientific worldview, is more important /14/ than the conveyance of however scholarly and high-level information in a deductive way.

In order to achieve this, it would be essential to experiment with new forms, to have an excellent system of basic and further training, a proper exhange of experiences among educators, and good methodological works which are all wanting in Hungarian adult education. No qualitative development in adult education and cultural education can be expected without a radical change of the present situation.

3.2. Finally, we have to emphasize that dealing with adults mature for self-education and full autonomy requires an andragogical activity of a specific methodology. Last year we examined the

> self-developing and self-educating activity of the most advanced. Even there it has been proved that in certain cases the process of self-development and self-education cannot be fully realized in all the phases of direction if it is totally self-directed and lacking all kinds of external guidance of an educator or a community.

There is no absolutely independent self-development. Therefore, it must be a special task for the institutions of cultural education to encourage, support, and indirectly control from the outside the self-educating process of the most advanced by ensuring the organizational framework and contributing to the evaluation of the process. The importance of this task has been made evident by the negative experineces in Debrecen and Dombóvár where no actual collective or individual self-educational activity arose from the ambitions of those persons who were mature for both studying and teaching--without some andragogical indirect organizational help, or at least there is no information about such activities. /15/ The same results has been shown by our study of the self-educational activities of the intellectual workers most mature for self-education at the BIOGAL Pharmaceutical Factory, Debrecen, where only a relatively low percent (cca 20%) of the tested was involved in a systematically conducted self-educational activity on the level of self-control whereas the others were engaged only in irregular and ad hoc educational activities.

Based on theoretical and practical experiments, the forms of helping cultural activity of the individuals mature for self-development and self-education must be very different, ranging from self-educational groups to professional counselling. In Hungary, the high efficiency of the self-educational groups based on the Finnish example has been proved. The refined individual self-development and self education is the educational form of the most advanced. Let us recall what we have said about the major stages of the complete self-educational process under.

3.3. The actual self-educational activities of the most advanced have shown that the level of development of the individuals is not the same at each stage, and even in the case of the best there are deficiencies in one or the other psychic conditions. Many of them have already reached or approached the level of complete independence at several points but at some others they are still in need of help in order to encourage themselves to reach them. The final result cannot be achieved in a day or two since these skills and capabilities will be strengthened during the presently not yet fully succesful or perfect practice of self-education.

This is the stage where the self-educational groups represent a special value and support, whether they are temporary groups of people interested in the same subject or those of socialist brigades functioning as a cultural undertaking of a more permanent working community.

In these cases the mutual help and pedagogical influence of the groups having been organized to achieve a common aim can help overcome those difficulties which may be present in the self-educational process of an individual. The members of the study-group or socialist brigade are not equally qualified and developed but they complete one another. In their common activity they are able to realize the process of developing and teaching themselves and each other either on a lower or on a higher level.

Another special value of such self-educational groups is the fact that they provide a natural environment for the members to tell the others about whatever they have built up in their minds based on their own experiences, readings, and acquired body of knowledge.

Thus, the individual may become someone who, at one and the same time, is being educated and is educating (influencing others as well) which is a strong factor of firm erudition, of real socialist erudition.

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# THE BOUNDARIES OF WOMEN'S LAND IN DUTCH SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

Some development in the political education of women
in the period 1933-1983.

by Heili Both

## 1. Introduction

In the summer of 1983 there were celebrations in De Born, the only women's folk high school in the Netherlands.[1] The reason for the festive atmosphere was the fiftieth anniversary of this residential centre.

De Born was established in 1933 on behalf of the members of the "Union of Social Democratic Women's Clubs" (Bond van Sociaal Democratische Vrouwen Clubs), which was the women's organization within the "Social Democratis Workers' Party" (Sociaal Democratische Arbeiders Partij - SDAP). The secretary of the Union, Liesbeth Ribbius Peletier, had financed the building of the centre out of her personal financial resources. The intention was that the centre should be used for the political education of social democratic women. The centre, which was accommodated in a purpose-built house, was run by the women themselves. The educational activities were also organized by the women, although the occasional man was admitted from time to time for the purposes of giving a talk. During many years the work was financed by the contributions of the members of the Union and from very limited financial support from the SDAP. Towards the end of the 1950s it became increasingly difficult to secure the resources necessary for the work. Since that time the government has increasingly contributed to the running-costs through subsidies. A consequence of these subsidies was that De Born could no longer solely concern itself with social democratic women. Many groups of women from the broader feminist movement currently make use of De Born although they have no direct relations with the SDAP. The centre continues, nonetheless, to perform a vital function in the political education of women members of the social democratic party. Throughout its history De Born has remained a house for women although much has changed in the identity of the work. While this was in earlier years of a social democratic character, it is now characterized as being "feminist upon a social democratic foundation".

During the summer of 1983 they were all there. "Old socialists" who had come to De Born before the Second World War, and for whom the socialist struggle was the foremost concern. There were also representatives of the younger generation, many of whom identify more closely with feminism than with socialism. Nevertheless, they agreed about one thing: De Born was a place where they had all learned "to stand up with pride".

The jubilee year of 1983 was a good occasion to undertake research into the history of De Born. Earlier research with regard to the women's organization within the SDAP had shown that the participation of women in the managing organs of the party had hardly increased during its history.[2] This had some consequences for the envisaged research into the history of De Born. It was the intention to pose the question why women had not succeeded in achieving a more equal participation in political life although these women had had their own residential centre for their political education since 1933.

Interviews with older women, which were held in the course of the research, made it clear that the meaning of De Born had broader implications for them than the political education they had enjoyed there.

> It was more "an oasis"; "a place where you were taken seriously for the first time"; "where you received the courage to carry on"; "one learned to devote oneself to the service of the common ideal"; and also that "there is so much more to life".

For these women De Born was a place where they concerned themselves with the question as to how they could, as the wives of workers, behave within the SDAP, in their families, and in social life. It was a place where being "the wife of a worker in the social democracy" assumed a specific meaning.

In this paper the history of De Born will be approached in terms of the question how this educational practice influenced the definition of femininity, and the room for manoeuvre for women in Dutch social democracy. Although the centre always had an independent position within the SDAP, it is most unlikely that the women were autonomous in the definition of their position. The political education of women took place withing complex class and sexual relationships, and the construction of their conceptions of femininity was also influenced by social and political institutions.

## 2. SDAP, and 'the nature' of women

The SDAP was established in 1894. During the first twenty years of its existence the party officially held a marxist perspective concerning "the women's question". In this perspective the causes of the historical development of the unequal relationships between men and women were seen to be of an economic nature. The liberation of women was expected to come from enabling them to be economically independent of their husbands. In those days many working-class women were required to find employment in order to supplement the family income. In addition they were expected to care for the home and children. The intellectuals in the party, whose eyes were not actually closed to the exploitive dimensions of this work for women, were nevertheless. of the opinion that even in capitalist society the employment of married women would lead to economic epuality and this to personal equality between men and women. It was thought, however, that it was only in a socialist society that the collectivization of household work and care of children would create the conditions necessary for real equality through releasing women from their dual tasks. In this perspective on the differences between the sexes, nature had the last word; no discussion about that appeared to be possible. Working-class party members usually adopted a different position, namely that the employemnt of the married women had a detrimental effect on the whole family. There were frequent expressions of the need to protect working women or to prohibit their employment. For both intellectuals and working-class party members the biological differences between the sexes implied that the division of labour between the sexes was phenomenon.[3] For many party members it was simply a question of the workers' struggle being in the interests of the wives of workers. When women took good care of their family and did not complain when their husbands had to be away from home on behalf of the party, then nothing else was expected of them in the socialist movement.

In the early years of the twentieth century the socialist struggle passed most working-class women by. As one of the leaders of the Union remembered this period

> No sound of it penetrated the seclusion of her small house, where she was always burdened by the need to care for her family, living permanently on the edgo of ruination. What was the life of the worker's wife in those days? Work, always work, mostly in a small house, frequently there was work in domestic manufacturing or a poorly paid job outside of the home. Many children, much suffering, much sickness, and no hope of any improvement.[4]

For Mathilde Wilbaut and a few other women in the SDAP it was clear that

> There was but one way of winning working-class women for the struggle for the emancipation of sex and class, namely their mutual organization.[5]

In 1908 these women decided upon the establishment of the Union of Social Democratic Women's Clubs following a period in which they had created women's clubs in various places throughout the country. The clubs had as their objectives:

- to undertake socialist propaganda among working-class women:
- to educate women in the principles of socialism by means of organizing them in reading circles;
- to organize actions for socialist demands on behalf of women in particular, both within and without the party.

The Union became the national co-ordinating body for these clubs. The founders explicitly emphasized the close relationships between socialism and the women's struggle. For this reason they wanted their organization to be recognized as a part of the SDAP. The party leadership had great problems with this aspiration, and official recognition only came in 1914. Despite this recognition there was a continuing fear among opponents of the Union that it would develop independent political positions which diverged from the official policy of the party.[6] Although the Union was an independent organization within the party, this was so only within the limits set by the party. At the organizational level the women could count upon the opposition of fellow party members who regarded the women's struggle as unimportant or even a "bourgeois" aspiration. Within the private lives of the women it was no different; a struggle for independence but within the limits of the marital relationship. In a study undertaken in 1933 among the members of the Union, it appeared that most of the women experienced the opposition of their husbands when they themselves became members of the party. The men had to get used to the idea of viewing their wives as comrades.[7]

Within these limits the women developed a strategy for their propaganda, social action, and mutual education.[8] During its first decade the Union organized actions for electoral rights for women, which were eventually introduced in 1919, services for mothers, women's rights to work, and against militarism. In the 1920s and 1930s the room for political demands was more restricted. The economic crisis did much to reduce the chances of women in finding employment outside of the home. The government attempted to prohibit married women from working with the argument that "the natural order" determined the task of women as residing in the family. The SDAP also experienced great dificultues. In 1937 the demand that women had the right to employment disappeared from the party manifesto, although it recognized that women had equal rights in the political and economic spheres. In practice this meant that the argument that the relationship between the sexes was unequal but should be equal was exchanged for the liberal view that men and women should enjoy 'equal rights'.[9] The leadership of the Union opposed the restrictive measures in the field of the employment of women, but was well aware that this was not a vital issue among its membership. Looking back on this period the secretary of the Union recently observed that

> The people did not have a penny to spare; you cannot imagine how much poverty and misery there was. In such circumstances you could better crawl under the carpet with the demands of women.[10]

Under the pressure of international political developments the party departed from its anti-militarist stance in 1935. Although the women in the party had been particularly involved in the anti-militarist struggle and opposed the proposed change in policy, the women's organization capitulated to the official line of the party. The members of the Union subsequently undertook action for peace.

With the restrictions on possibilities for direct action educational activities received more attention within the Union. During this period there was a growing interest in general education, cultural development and cadre-training throughout the movement.[11] There was, however, little concern with the particular educational needs of women, and where this was the case, women were mainly addressed in terms of their responsibilities as wives and mothers. The Union expressed few objections to courses such as "The mental development of babies, toddlers and children", "Communal Laundries and Baths", or "Nutrition and Knowledge of Commodities". But such courses did not make unnecessary the political education organized by the Union itself and which was intended to encourage the wives of workers to independence.

Liesbeth Ribbius Peletier was appointed as the new secretary of the Union in 1925. It was under her leadership that the educational work of the Union became more organized and was given a methodical foundation. As mentioned above, she used her own money to build De Born in 1933. Most party members were indifferent to this initiative, and it seemed that they had more important concerns than this 'nonsense'. The opinion in the party was that the women should be allowed to carry on if they wanted their own house, so long as this did not mean expenditure by the party.[12]

### 3. "Socialism means happiness for women"

The architect who designed De Born was commissioned to build a house

> ...where a woman from a rural village will feel at home, but in such a way that she will experience that there is more between heaven and earth than she has experienced up to now.[13]

When working-class women spent a couple of days at De Born they were enduringly impressed. The beautiful house, the natural surroundings, the carefully prepared meals, the communal singing of the songs of the movement, in short, the whole atmosphere became a never to be forgotten experience. De Born was only open during the summer when two types of courses were organized. There were "general courses" which lasted three days and were intended for all members of the women's clubs, and "training weeks" which were intended for the schooling of cadre for the clubs and reading circles.

It was the usual practice for the women from a particular club to go together to the general courses. They had frequently spent the whole year scrimping and saving the odd penny to pay for the journey. For these women such a journey, without their husband and children, was in itself an expression of their independence. After their arrival at De Born the first conversations were concerned with

> ...what the family found of it, how the neighbours had viewed these women who had neglected their duties and who walked along the streets on a normal working-day with their suitcase in their hands...[14]

The programme of the general courses comprised a series of talks, walks, singing, listening to music and stories, the latter carrying a moral. The subjects dealt with in the talks were concerned with the role of women in the community. The leadership of the Union emphasized the natural fact of motherhood and the consequent function of women in providing a good example.

Women were expected to perform services not only in the family and the party but also to others in the community. This was not a question of their own interests, but subservience to the "greater whole"! "In those days you could do so much...", said one of the women interviewed,

> ...When you went out to make propaganda for the party you had to ensure that your home was tidy, that you had arranged a baby-sitter for the children, and, if necessary, you were to help your sick neighbour. That you could do all this, that was the essential point!

Other talks were more concerned with raising the consciousness of women with regard to their right to independence in marriage and employment. When asked what had stayed the longest in her memory, one of the older women remembered that

> We had always been left at home in ignorance. But at De Born we were received as complete persons, not as the wives of workers or as stupid women, but as people! We became convinced that we had a right to develop ourselves. We learned to understand that we ourselves could do many things: to organize yourselves and to claim your rightful place in society.[16]

In addition to the development of community spirit and independence, the meetings at De Born also made a contribution to raising the cultural level of the women. This was also the intention. The house was simple but beatiful, and had a standard of comfort and luxury unknown to the women. In talks about poetry, literature and "the development of civilization", in listening to classical music and to good stories, the women learned to enjoy "a culture which also belonged to us", as one women reflected. De Born had normative intentions "from the faultless table arrangements to the most moving and spiritual moments".[17]

De Born fulfilled a very important function in the schooling of cadre for the women's clubs, for the chairwomen, the secretary and the treasurer, and the leaders of reading circles. Liesbeth Ribbius Peletier, who visited many of the clubs during the winter months, was continuously looking for women who were qualified to lead the clubs. Women with some degree of development or who were conspicuous for their independent manner received an invitation to attend the schooling weeks for the cadre. Leaders of reading circles were instructed in the so-called "reading-speaking method". They had to learn to organize the discussion of political questions in the reading circles, which involved summarizing articles from the press in their words, to add other opinions, and to ask the women what they themselves thought. Experience had made clear that the women often voiced the opinions of their husbands, but it was now the intention that women should form their own opinions.

At De Born the committee of a club learned to lead and address meetings, how to make minutes and how to keep accounts. Both the committes members and the leaders of the reading clubs were impressed with the importance of the need to give a good example to the members of the clubs. They had to make sure that the women did not get personal during discussions; arguments and gossip had to be avoided and the leader should, in no event, become engaged in this. Because women had little experience with working in organizations, they had to learn to accept majority decisions. It was suggested that the women could learn a lot from men is this respect, the men being able to be friends even after a vigorous disagreement in a meeting.[18]

Between 1933 and 1940 some 600 women attended the cadre-training at De Born. When the women departed at the completion of such a week they were

> ...convinced that they could assume their place in the organization and were full of the serious conviction to use what they had learned during the week in the service of our common ideal, socialism.[19]

The schooling weeks for the cadre gave the women self-confidence. As one woman expressed it "...what took place at De Born was a contribution to the liberation of women, individually and step by step".[20]

The women did not see their subordinate position in the family or the party as restricting their freedom. They accepted their double burden of working for the family and the party, while many were also in paid employment. This was regarded as a normal state of affairs; there were no complaints because working for a common ideal made their lives worth while.

Following the German invasion of the Netherlands in 1940, the party and the Union were closed down. The summer activities in De Born also came to an end. Liesbeth Ribbius Peletier was successful in making use of the house for educational work among young women between 18 and 24 years of age until 1942. These young women, who were mostly the daughters of kindred spirits, stayed at De Born for a period of three months. They were taught by qualified teachers in a large number of subjects dealing with their general and domestic education. Evenmore important was the spirit in which the work was carried out although it might not be referred as such - a socialist sense of community.

With the liberation in 1945 came the rapid rebirth of work among women within the party. A Union of Women (Vrouwenbond) was established, the local clubs stated to meet again, and the work of reading circles recommenced. After De Born had been renovated in 1946 following the war damage, the women started to come again in great numbers to 'their' house for both general courses and cadre training. Just as in the crisis years before the war, the emphasis in the work of the Union was upon deucational activities, although there was a change in the content of the work. After the war there was less emphasis upon development of independence and more attention was given to the community spirit. The meetings at De Born devoted much time to personal relations. Themes such as 'the meaning of socialism in the present day'. The Union adopted the position that the central place of the woman was in the family.

What had happened to old ideals so frequently mentioned by the original founders of the Union such as the (economic) independence of women and the right to their autonomous development? It is noteworthy that in this period there was a major shortage of working women. The solution was not sought, however, in encouraging married women to go out to work. For the government and the political parties the family, and the 'natural' position of the woman at its centre, was regarded as an important link in the social reconstruction of the Netherlands after the war. The recovery of the economy demanded the thrift of the population, the workers had to reassume a regular routine of working, and the younger generation had to be brought up to a correct sense of social norms. Working wives were widely regarded as being a threat to the importance of the family.[21] The social democrats in the Labour Party (Partij van de Arbeid), the new name for the SDAP, also recognized the fundamental values of marriage and the family in personal and social development. The party was convinced that social, cultural and housing policies should be concerned with protecting the family.[22] The 'division of labour within the family' provided the point of departure for the social and financial legislation of this period which received the support of the Labour Party and the trade union movement. A legislative basis was given to the view that the man as the breadwinner must be able to support his family, while the wife cared for the family at home. At the same time women in the Labour Party devoted itself to achieving equality for women in marriage and in employment. When this achieved with parliamentary approval in the mid-1950s, it looked as if the emancipation of women had been largely realized.

There was a dominating atmosphere of satisfaction among those who attended the 25th jubilee of De Born in 1958. Much had been achieved. The Netherlands were becoming a prosperous country. Much had already been achieved in the field of social insurance and the social position of women had been improved. "Did the meetings at De Born have any further purpose?", was the question posed by Liesbeth Ribbius Peletier in her commemorative speech. Her answer was positive. More than a thousand women annualy came to De Born. It was clear that the women attending the general courses were somewhat older. For them a stay at De Born was a kind of holiday where they could, in the company of kindred spirits, enjoy nature, occupy themselves with creative activities, and listen to the occasional talk about a political or cultural topic. A small group of younger women between 35 and 45 years of age tended to attend courses which examined one particular theme from different perspectives, for example European integration, the emancipation of women in third-world countries, the woman as consumer, art in the twentieth century. In addition there were still the schooling weeks for cadre, where the women were instructed in discussion techniques which were increasingly employed in the local reading circles. If the earlier emphasis had been upon learning to independently determine their own opinion, the emphasis was now placed upon learning to defend their opinions.[23]

There was, nevertheless, a growing sense of disquiet among the younger generation of women who had enjoyed a better education than their mothers. They no longer regarded caring for their husbands and (older) children as a full-time task and wanted to use their talents to greater effect. There was among these women

> ...a maturing awareness that the woman had to move outside of her central place in the family, while the man's contacts in social life give him a task in the family.[24]

A survey in 1961 had shown that a great number of the members of the Union wished to have a part-time job, although there were many who continued to reject work outside of the home with the argument that women belonged in the family. In the same year a committee was set up to examine the question "why relatively few women members of the party are actively engaged in politics?"[25] The committee arrived at the conclusion that, while there was some opposition among men to the emancipation of women, the most important cause lay with the women themselves in

> ...their inner resistance to act in those areas which up to now have been dominated by men, because these women have accepted their role in the background.[26]

Among the young members the criticism continued to increase. They questioned the participation of women in politics which had hardly increased despite political education; they posed the question as to whether the women were not too enclosed in the Union and whether it was not time to integrate the women's organization in the party? The older women vigorously resisted all proposals relating to integration. They could not accept that the Union should make itself unnecessary although the emancipation of women seemed to have been achie achieved. The two sides achieved a compromise in 1969. The organization would be simplified and become known in future as Women's Contact (Vrouwenkontakt). The simplication of the organization particularly involved the educational activities which would henceforth be organized by the party. This decision had few consequences for De Born, since the house was the property of an independent foundation. The results of the integration was, however, reflected in the work done at De Born. Men were increasingly allowed to attend courses, while a man joined the staff of educational workers in the 1970s.

## 4. Socialism and feminism

While the second generation of social democratic women expressed their dissatisfaction with the social position of women in the struggle for integration in political life, a movement came into existence outside of the political parties among women who protested against the restrictions imposed by the traditional view of the role of women. This movement was supported by younger women with a good education who had also been brought up with the idea that motherhood was their future destination. In both their work and their political activities they noticed that they were taken less seriously that men; that men found it very normal for women to combine looking after a house, caring for the children, and working; that society was influenced by a culture in which women were regarded as being inferior to men in advertising, the media, education, and in the health services etc. A great number of consciousness-raising, social action, and study groups were established which gave rise to the insight that socialism is not enough in the struggle of women for liberation.

The Women's Contact within the Labour Party soon sought ways of co-operating with these groups, although this at first achieved little. The women's movement was dynamic, loosely organized and undertook many spontaneous forms of social action. In contrast the Women's Contact was a ponderous apparatus and had an image as a 'grey-haired club' among the younger generation of women. The change-over came in 1971 when the Women's Contact, meeting at De Born, arrived at the conclusion that the struggle for integration in the party was not enough. Just as every other repressed group in society women, also in the Labour Party, had to fight their own struggle for liberation. Experience had taught them that the party had not automatically assumed the tasks of the Women's Contact.[27] This new standpoint led to a great many "Red Women" (Rooie Vrouwen) actions, which found a positive response in the women's movement and led to many new members in the long term.

At De Born itself it took rather longer before relationships with the women's movement assumed a new form. In the years following 1973 a broad range of activities were concerned with the political education of the cadre of the Red Women. Particularly successful were the 'low threshold courses' (drempelkursussen) which were intended for women who had up to that time not been active in politics although they wished to do so. The educational work with cadre stressed the development of political demands and the strategies to be used in getting the party to accept these demands. In contrast to their predecessors earlier in the twentieth century, the Red Women within the Labour Party no longer accept that motherhood as traditionally organized in society is a 'natural' fact. They argue that "Marriage and the family in their existing forms act as a restriction upon the development of women and there must be room for other forms of co-habitation."[28] Those two generations of social democratic women are, however, in agreement in their analysis of the main cause of the repression of women. The Red Women are also of the opinion that the main causes are economic in nature. According to this perspective a new division of labour, both in the home and outside it, is the necessary condition for achieving real equality between men and women. Although these women are aware that more is necessary to fundamentally change the power relationships between men and women, the perspective of redistribution is dominant in the political strategy of the Red Women. As far as political education is concerned, this means that priority is given to the training of cadre. The criticism of the Red Women regarding the work of De Born expressed towards the end of the 1970s, was, that consciousnessraising work among women is important but that its work should not stop there. Around this time De Born had developed into a residential centre which wanted to perform a vanguard function for the women's movement. A central issue in this development was the relationship with the ongoing discussion within the movement regarding the role of heterosexuality as a principle of social organization. It first became apparent in educational work with lesbian women that the heterosexual social norm was based upon power relationship between the sexes and was repressive for women. This norm drove women to base their identity upon relationships with men in which they were defined as daughters, wifes and mothers. The dominance of the heterosexual norm was partially a consequence of the internalization of this norm by women themselves, because "Ideas about what women are (or should be) have determined our own ideas about ourselves and other women."[29] The notion that heterosexuality as norm repressed not only lexbian women but extended to all women, led to renewal in the contents and methods of educational work with other groups. Taking the experiences of women themselves as the point of departure, the search was started for the mechanisms leading to the internalization of the heterosexual norm, for methods of rescuing women from the 'role of being victims', for possibilities of developing effective forms of resistance, and for another definition of feminity which rejects the heterosexual norm.

The criticism by the Red Women of this search for the psychological and cultural roots of the repression of women, was fed by the fear that the political struggle for improving the social position of women would be obscurred. The Red Women had taken it upon themselves to achieve positions of power in political and social institutions, while, at the same time, bringing about changes in the manner in which power is used in these institutions.

## 5. Conclusion

"It is now more difficult than fifty years ago to define the identity of women" was the view expressed by the co-ordinator of De Born in her commemorative speech in 1983. The definition of "womenhood" was in an earlier period more readily defined by the biological difference than is the case today. The perception that this small difference could have such important consequences, not only for the division of labour but also for the heterosexual basis of the power relationships between the sexes, could only be envisaged when women achived the possibilities, for example in the form of improved education and birth-control, of escaping from their 'natural lot'.

The educational work at De Born in 1983 was very varied. In relation to the various viewpoints in the women's movement "We work with women who pursue political objectives, and with women who are more concerned with their personal development. Taken together this determines the identity of De Born: to fulfill a function in the formation of an appositional perspective to the dominant political and cultural norms which dictate 'natural' characteristics for both women, and not to forget, men."[30]

Nowadays, the educational work of De Born is faced with the same problem confronting the women's movement as a whole, namely the integration of political and cultural feminism. It is like "Sailing between Scylla and Charibdis. On the one hand, there is the danger that simplistic ideas about emancipation, according to which 'women must' become like 'men', lead to a feminism which denies all critically cultural potential. On the other hand, there is a danger that a new construction of 'femininity', according to which women embody 'other values', will lead to a feminism deprived of all political potential."

## Notes

[1] 'Borne' is an old Dutch word for 'source'. 'The Born' is a centre for residential adult education but is not formally a Folk High School. The latter term is used here for the purposes of clarity.

[2] Ulla Jansz, Vrouwen ontwaakt!, Driekwart eeuw sociaal-democratische vrouwenorganisatie tussen solidariteit en verzet. Amsterdam 1983.

[3] Joyce Outshoorn, De sociaal-democratie en het vrouwenvraagstuk, in: Socialisme en Democratie, hr. 9, september 1982, p 413.
Joyce Outshoorn, Vrouwenemancipatie en Socialisme, Nijmegen, 1973. Ali de Regt, Arbeidersgezinnen en beschavingsarbeid, Amsterdam, 1984.
Marhilde wibaut-Berdenis van Berlekom, Herinneringen, Amsterdam 1976.

[4] Mathilde Wibaut-Berdenis van Berlekom, a.w., p. 14, 15.

[5] Mathilde Wibaut-Berdenis van Berlekom, a. w.

[6] Jansz, a.w. hoofdstuk 2.

[7] Lien Boersma, De beteekenis van het lidmaatschap van de SDAP voor vrouwen, Haarlem, 1933.

[8] Barry Hake, Anne Kal en Marce Noordenbos, Adult education and working-class women in the Netherlands: the educational work of the Union of Social Democratic Women's Clubs; 1905-1925. In: International Journal of lifelong Education, vol. 4, no. 3, 1985.

[9] Outshoorn, a.w., p. 415.

[10] Verslag van interviews met Liesbeth Ribbius Peletier, Leiden, december 1984.

[11] Prof. dr. B. van Gent, Government and voluntary organizations in the Netherlands. Two hundred years of adult information (1784-1984), Leiden, 1986.

[12] Verslag van een interview met Lien Meyboom-Broersma, Leiden, Maart 1984.

[13] Liesbeth Ribbius Peletier, Rede, uitgesproken bij het 25-jarig bestaan van 'De Born', op 20 september 1958.

[14] Liesbeth Ribbius Peletier, a.w.

[15] Verslag van een interview met mevrouw Velzel, Leiden, juli 1985.

[16] Verslag van een interview met mevrouw Naberman, Leiden, juli 1985.

[17] Marietje Jonkmans, Stageverslag School voor Maatschappelijk Werk, Amsterdam, 1937.

[18] Carry Pothuis-Smit, Als vrouwen vergaderen. Bekwaamheden der vrouw en special vrouwelijke moelijkheden. In: Mededelingen, Amsterdam, april 1938.

[19] De Proletarische Vrouw, Verslag van een studieweek voor leesclubleidsters, Amsterdam, juli 1937.

[20] Took Heroma-Meilink, Tekst van een toespraak bij het 50-jarig bestaan van 'De Born', Amsterdam, 1983.

[21] Els Blok, Loonarbeid van vrouwen 1945-1955, Nijmegen 1978.

[22] Outshoorn, a.w., p. 417.

[23] Liesbeth Ribbius Peletier, a.w.

[24] Wij leerden fier rechtop te staan, Rooie Vrouwen, Amsterdam, 1978.

[25] In: Ons Werk, leidstersblad van de vrouwenbond van de Partij van de Arbeid, jaargang '62/'63.

[26] Rita de Bruyn Ouboter, De sfeer van de 50er jaren, in: Wij leerden fier rechtop te staan, Amsterdam, 1978, p. 30.

[27] Ien van den Heuvel, Van Vrouwenbond naar Rooie Vrouwen, in: Wij leerden fier rechtop te staan, Amsterdam, 1978, p. 36.

[28] Jansz, a.w., p. 159.

[29] Corni de Mos, Vormingswerk voor lesbische vrouwen, in: Marge, jrg 6., nr 7/8, 1982.

[30] Verslag van een interview met Nel Willekens, Leiden, november, 1984.

[31] Maaike Meyer, De vrouwelijkheidsconstructie, geciteerd bij Anja Meulenbelt, De schillen van de ui, SARA, Amsterdam 1984.

# THE ROLE OF VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS IN THE HEALTH EDUCATION

by H.A.M. van der Drift-van Nies

## 1. Introduction

Health education has been strongly stimulated by the Dutch government in recent years. Regional consultants have been appointed who have the task of encouraging co-operation between professional organization involved in health education. There has also been the development of an increasing number of volunteers who are actively involved in health education. This paper is concerned with the origins of both of these phenomena in relation to the development of the provision of health-care, and with their mutual interaction. In the first place, attention is devoted to the development of health education as part of the health services. Secondly, the motives and work of voluntary organizations are discussed. Finally, the paper addresses the question of the role of these organizations in the development of health education.

## 2. Health Education

In the twentieth century the health of the population is subject to other threats than those in preceeding centuries. Drop and Houben[1] have propose four periods in the development of threats to health. They make a distinction between:

a - the period of plagues and starvation from the fourteenth to the middle of the eighteenth centuries. Demographic features of this period in European history were a high birth-rate and a high death-rate, in particular among children. The most important causes of death were physical violence, especially wars, and epidemics such as the plague and smallpox. Starvation and a lack of nutrition led to the deaths of many as a result of diarrhoea and pneumonia. In 1347 the plague caused death of 25 million people or almost one-third of the total population of Europe.

b - the period of declining mass pestilence from the middle of the eighteenth century until the end of the nineteenth century. The development of agriculture and the early manifestations of industrialization brought a gradual improvement in the health of the population. Both hunger and epidemics became less frequent. Poor levels of hygiene and nutrition affected, nevertheless, large sections of the population who were the victims of illnesses such as cholera, scarlet fever, and smallpox.

c - the end of the nineteenth century when public health became a social issue. The emergence of factories resulted in poor conditions of habitation and work. Factory labourers often experienced extreme poverty, while large numbers of children were forced into earning a living. Such children rarely saw the light of day and suffered from exhaustion and poor nutrition. Unhealthy working conditions, poor food and excessive misuse of alcohol caused both sickness and infirmities, such as rickets and tuberculosis, among this poverty-stricken section of the population. This pattern of ill-health, which was particularly rampant among the urban population, was above all caused by social factors.

d - the period of man-made diseases in the twentieth century. During the course of the present century the standard of living and levels of health have significantly increased. Characteristic of this period are the threats to health which result from the risks associated with human behaviour and the environment; in other words with illnesses caused by mankind itself. This period is, furthermore, characterized by the large numbers of the permanently and chronic sick.

The cost of the health services is high. Approximately 10 % of the gross national product of the Netherlands is devoted to the provision of health-care. The Dutch population attaches great value to the importance of good health. The characteristics of health problems in this period, in which human behaviour is the most important causal factor of illness, provides the foundations for the development of health education in Europe. In 1954 the World Health Organization defined the purpose of health education as being "..to help people achieve health, by means of their own action and efforts"[2]. Parallel to the development of health standards which are the result of social change, in agriculture and industry, there have been developments in medical science and the provision of health services. This involves the possibility of more effective preventive measures which could contain the outbreak of major epidemics. Preventive programmes have made it possible to reduce illness by means of vaccinations against smallpox and polio. In much the same way as the development of prosperity has produced its own typical illnesses, the development of medical science has, however, led to a number of negative effects. Without any pretention to providing a complete picture the following effects require mention:[3]

- the side-effects of treatment and medicines provide the causal factors of new illnesses;

- as a result of the continuing development of medical technology it becomes more difficult for patients to achieve a complete picture of treatments and their possible consequences;
- the number of the permanently and chronically sick has increased. The development of medical science has contributed to the arrest of many illnesses while many patients with permanent disabilities are able to survive. This demands adjustments in their own way of life and of those around them;
- technological developments lead patients to have higher expectations of medical care. This means that people are often not prepared to change their own behaviour in the expectation that medical care will solve the problem.

This developments in medical care and their social consequences have led to the need for changes in the objectives of health education.

In 1969 a new formulation of the objective of health education was specified by the World Health Organization as involving "..encouraging people to adopt and sustain healthful life practice, to use judiciously and wisely the health services available to them, and to make their own decisions, both individually and collectively, to improve their health status and environment"[4]. Rouwenhorst, the first professor of health education in the Netherlands, defined health education as being intended "to help people to care better for their own health and that of others, and to accept their responsibilities in these matters"[5]. According to Rouwenhorst health education must bring about an equilibrium between three dimensions of health care. These dimensions are:

- the compulsory regulations derived from legislation which in intended to provide protection, for example the laws governing food additives and requiring the wearing of car seat-belts;
- the provision of services including those made available for encouraging health and, where necessary, to deal with illness, such as clinics and hospitals;
- self-help which involves behaviour which is devoted to promoting their own health and that of others, and which involves avoiding unnecessary risks in traffic, the consumption of healthy food, and taking adequate physical exercise etc.

In order to achieve these kinds of objectives health education must not only be a part of the health services but must also be active in other sectors of social welfare. In a policy document entitled "Health Provision With Limited Resources", which was presented to the Second Chamber of the Dutch parliament in 1984, the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Culture expressed this endeavour in terms of "an understanding that the encouragement of healthy behaviour requires exerting influence upon ways of life, which requires that health education must relate to all those situations in which behaviour can be influenced. In systematic terms this involves:

- the home,
- education,
- the workplace,
- associations and recreation,
- helping situations, including professional help."

In this paper attention will be devoted to the question of the functions of the helping situtation, with the exclusion of professional help, in relation to health education.

## 3. Volunteers in the Helping Situation

In the first place members of the family assume the care of the sick. When this was not possible for one or another reason in the past, the close neighbours automaticall assumed the responsibility. This was part of the nature of neighbourliness. Such care was not generally limited to material care, such as food, washing, and getting dressed, but included immaterial care in the form of mourning,in the event of death of loved ones. A number of sociological studies have demonstrated these traditional patterns of mutual support.[7]

This was, however, no longer the case by the middle of the twentieth century. A number of societal developments have led to change. These include:

- increased mobility of members of the family which was originally brought about by migration from rural to urban areas where there were more job opportunities;
- the more general emancipation of the individual which involved detachment from the traditional bonds of family, neighbourhood, and parish;[8]
- the development of professionlization which assumed many of the traditional tasks of the community and the family.[9]

Most of these developments are related to the process of industrialization which have taken place in the whole of Europe since the beginning of the twentieth century.

The need to care for the sick at home has, however, remained. There has been some professionalization in this area, mainly in the form of home-help and district nurses, although these provisions have proved to be inadequate and suggest the need for a further extension of professional care. In times of limited financial resources the high costs of extending professional help have resulted in the provision of services which fell short of the needs. This has given rise to an area of unmet need between the traditional support provided by the family and the professional services. This area of need has been answered by the activities of organized volunteers.

Following Hoekendijk[10] it is possible to distinquish between two forms of voluntary work:

a - organizations of volunteers in which the participants offer unilateral help to others who are in need. This form of help has a long history and may be regarded as the successor to traditional spontaneous help by neighbours; and,

b - organizations based upon mutual help among those in need. These self-help groups are a relatively recent development which grew rapidly during the 1970s.

Some examples of both of these varieties of volunteer organizations will be discussed below.

### 3.1 Unilateral Helping Relationships

There are diverse organizations in the Netherlands which are concerned with doing something for the sick or handicapped[11]. These activities are often of a recreational nature such as the organization of day-trips, and taking invalids for walks. Other activities perform a supplementary function in the help-sector and include washing windows, doing shopping, and sewing chores. This type of work, which is of a domestic nature, is primarily carried out by women. Little research has been undertaken with regard to the motives of these volunteers. On the basis of an analysis of descriptions in the journals of volunteer organizations[12] and interviews with members of the management committees of such organizations, the present author has isolated the following motives:

- the development of social contacts outside of the family,
- greater involvement in social life,
- seeking personal fulfillment through gaining experience in dealing with older people, or active engagement in running an organization,
- to have something to do.

The latter motive is not unimportant in the Netherlands given the low percentage of married women in employment[13]: Until 1973 this percentage was 22 %, and, although it has since risen to 33 % in 1983, it is low in comparison with other European countries.

In order to give an impression of both volunteer organizations and the nature of voluntary work in the Netherlands, one large organization will be examined. The organization chosen is the Unie Voor Vrijwillegers (Union of Volunteers) which is the largest non-denominational organization in this field.

### The Development of the Union of Women Volunteers

The Union of Women Volunteers[14] was established in 1939. The historical motive at the time was the desire of women to demonstrate their solidarity with men who were mobilized for the defence of the fatherland and its population. The women wished to co-ordinate all activities behind the frontline. To this end they called upon women to devote three hours per week to work on behalf of the community, this being regarded as a kind of moral commitment. Following the outbreak of the Second World War the provision of help to the casualties and care for povertless children became the most important tasks. After the war the activities were primarily concerned with contributing to the reconstruction of the towns. The women helped to clear rubble and organized collections of household articles for women elsewhere in the country.

The women who took the initiative for establishing the Union were mainly married women from the well-to-do class who had enjoyed a good education. The first management committee included no less than three women with an academic qualification out of a total of six.[15] The organization has never completely lost its image as an organization for voluntary work among married women from the higher income groups. It is questionable whether this image is a reflection of the realities of 1986. Women with an academic background no longer feel themselves called to this kind of voluntary work and are more likely to be employed. At this moment in time the work is in the hands of women from the upper middle class.[16]

## The Organization

According the Annual Report of 1984[17] it appears that the number of volunteers associated with the Union is 16,509, this number being distributed over 127 local branches. In 1977 the name of the Union was changed, the emphasis upon women volunteers being dropped and men being made welcome. The number of male members of the Union was 560 in 1984. The national management committee comprises representatives of all the provinces and the larger towns in the Netherlands. The member of the Union appoint the executive committee. The local branches are autonomous so that they may more effectively respond to the needs of their localities, while the organization of the branches is identical. The national committee makes suggestions as to how voluntary work can be best organized and the nature of co-operation with other organizations. Each branch is required to hold an annual meeting to which all local members are to be invited.

## The Activities

The characteristic of this kind of voluntary work is the concern with long-term tasks, while other organizations are more concerned with short-term situations of need. The activities vary between the branches, the needs of local populations and the volunteers determining the local work. The Annual Report of 1984 provides an indication of the type of activities as is shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Number of Volunteers in Various Activities

| | |
|---|---|
| Intramural Help | |
| Hospitals | 7,623 |
| Nursing-homes | 830 |
| Invalid-homes | 180 |
| Extra-Mural Help | |
| Individual help: consultancy | 2,500 |
| Distributing Meals for the Aged | 1,390 |
| Home-help | 250 |
| Helping the Handicapped | 200 |
| Help for the Aged | 1,845 |

Source: Union of Volunteers, Annual Report, 1984

## Finance

The volunteers declare their expenses to the branch committee, while there is no restitution of labour costs. All volunteers are covered by a public liablity insurance. All the expenses of volunteers and administrative costs are covered by the organization of fund-raising activities. Income is derived from a mobile-shop in hospitals, the sale of hand-made articles and second-hand clothing, together with the receipts from the sale of postage stamps for benevolent purposes, such as the so-called "Summer Stamps".

A number of activities receive subsidies from the municipal authority, for example the distribution of meals to the aged. The Ministry pays for a number of full-time paid workers who are employed by the national organization such as administrative staff and consultants who organize training for volunteers. The Union regularly receives private donations.

## Interviews with the National Committee[18]

In addition to the information derived from secondary sources, such as the Annual Reports, a number of interviews were held with members of the national committee in the course of 1984. These interviews concentrated upon the background to the activities carried out by the Union. The basic priniciple of the activities carried out by the Union is that these are those which would not normally be carried out by professional workers. This applies to both the extra-mural and intra-mural activities, i.e. care in the home or care in institutions such as hospitals and old-peoples' homes.

With regard to extra-mural care in the home, the committee was of the opinion that:

> "....the point of departure for help in the home is the provision of support in situtations of need. The Union offers help where this is not forthcoming from family and neighbours, and where the professional services are inadequate as a result of the lack of time and manpower. It is important to note that we always refer cases to both

> of these other forms of help, the family and neighbours, or professional services, where this is necessary. We regard this referral task as being very important. The demand for domestic labour is now much lower that it was. There is a greater need for social contact among those who still live at home. The most important aspects of care in the home are conversation and light domestic tasks such as reading outloud. Many older people are more likely to request the help of a volunteer that to trouble their children, who are said to be so occupied with other things. They are often afraid of becoming dependent upon their children."

### Work in Hospitals

Human contact is a primary feature in the objectives of the Union. With regard to the work in hospitals the national committee expressed the view that

> "We do all kinds of work in hospitals which brings us into contact with the patient as a human-being. We wish to have personal contact without knowing anything of the patient's illness. When a nurse comes along she immediately asks whether things are not too tiring; these are the kind of questions which we do not ask. In the hospitals we do all kinds of work which are intended to make the patient's stay more pleasurable, such as providing flowers, washing fruit, distributing books, and the mobile shop. In this manner one is aware of the patient's needs for a conversation, and we do not impose upon them. Agreements are made with the hospitals with regard to what the Union will and will not do, and the times when we will be present. The hospital then knows when it can count on us. We advise the local branches to always make sure that these agreements are put down in writing".

In short one may conclude that the most important objective of the Union has changed in the course of time from the more material tasks towards the more immaterial forms of providing help. This is the case with regard to both the intra-mural and the extra-mural help. As a result of changes in the relationships between parents and their children, and between neighbours the Union frequently fills the resulting gap in the chain of providing help.

## 3.2. New Developments in the Field of Providing Help

During the last few years there has been an increasing number of initiative in the provision of mutual help and support among fellow-sufferers: the so-called patients' groups or self-help groups. Althought the development of such groups on a large scale is a characteristic of the present period, such groups existed in the past. In a study of self-help groups, Jansen, Harberden and Lafaille[19] concluded that 92.3 % of these groups came into existence since 1970, while 77 % were established after 1975.

Prior to a discussion of the objectives and working-methods of these groups, the motives for their development need to be examined. Geelen[20], in a study of entitled "Initiatives Towards Self-responsibility in Health Care", suggests three motives:

- criticism of the welfare state in which individual responsibility is reduced to a minimum,

- criticism of professional care which is subject to a growing gap between professionals and layment as a result of professionalization and technologic developments,
- as a consequence of the costs of health care and the advanced concept of general emancipatic government is demonstrating increasing interest in prevention and personal responsibility.

In the study by Jansen, Harberden and Lafaille[21], which was referred to above, mention is made of the motives for the establishment of self-help groups and patients' associations. The authors distinquish between five kinds of such groups:

a. groups which regard themselves as being a necessary on the grounds that in their eyes professional help was inadequate or can be improved;

b. groups which regard themselves as dealing with unmet needs in the network of helping services; they have come into existence because they are of the opinion that no professional help is possible. Reference is made to learning to live with permanent deficiencies, which can be only based upon the experiences of others with the same deficiencies and gaining insights in coping-skills;

c. groups which regard themselves as supplementary to professional care, and regard self-help as a effective solution to their problems;

d. groups which regard themselves as active in areas in which professional help is neither involved nor capable of being so. They frequently see their problems as a criticism of professional help;

e. other groups.

The initiative for establishing a patients' association does not exclusively come from fellow-sufferers themselves. Patients' associations are often stimulated by professional workers. These workers can be doctors or paramedicals, such as dieticians and speech therapists, while there is occasionally contact with a social worker in establishing an association. Professionals often act as advisers for patients' associations. In Geelen's study[22] this was the case in two-thirds of the associations studied. There are, however, cases where it is known that professionals oppose the initiatives of patients, the professional workers regarding the associations as competitors to their professional competance. In a study by Borne and Pruyn[23] it was shown that the referral of cancer patients to self-help groups was not undertaken by the medical specialist but by non-medical workers, in particular by social workers.

Not all associations consist of fellow-sufferers alone. An increasing number of associations are set up by the families of patients or others directly involved, for example the parents of handicapped children or partners of those with speech deficiencies. It is also the purpose of these associations that the members seek mutual support the exchange of experiences.

## Working methods and Activities of Self-help Groups

The principle of self-help groups is that each member helps himself by requesting the support of others, by means of exchanging experiences members help each other to help themselves. Members introduce their own experiental knowledge and make this available to others.

The objectives of members of self-help groups are not always the same and these determine the activities which are undertaken. Jansen, Harberden and Lafaille make a distinction between four kinds of self-help group:

a. Helping-groups and helping-organizations, which are primarily concerned with providing mutual help among their members. The activities are performed within the group and are concerned with the individual questions of each individual member. A telephone help-line is the most important means of communication. Examples are the discussion groups of cardiac and vascular patients.

b. pressure-groups which are mainly externally oriented, and which seek to bring about change to the benefit of the members. The most important medium of communication is the written word, for example the association's journal and the press. This kind of association also organizes conferences for medical specialists in order to attract the attention of both professions organizations and the general public for their problems. An example is the association of diabetics.

c. social contact groups which are concerned neither with explicit provision of help nor pressure group activites. Mutual social contact and sociability are the most important dimensions of group-life. An example of this kind of self-help is the oldest patients' association in the Netherlands, "Gyot", which was established in 1884 with the object of organizing mutual contact between the deaf.

d. a miscellaneous category including groups which cannot be allocated to the other three groups.

The afore-mentioned study by Jansen, Harberden and Lafaille[25] suggest that most of the self-help groups in their sample belonged to the first two categories. The pressure groups are the oldest and the largest organizations. The Netherlands Diabetis Association has approximately 30,000 members, the Union of Rheumatic Patients some 20,000 members, while the Union of Parents of Physically Handicapped Children has a membership of some 3,500. These large organizations do not work entirely with volunteers since they employ salaried workers for administrative tasks. The Diabetic Association has as many as 13 paid employees.

Self-help groups, which are usually organized on a local basis, have many fewer members, the Blood Pressure group in Tilburg having 11, that in Utrecht having 15 members. The activities of such a group are necessarily more limited than those of a national organization with salaried staff.

A secondary analysis of the results of the study by Jansen, Harberden and Lafaille[26] provides an impression of the activities of the different kinds of groups.

Table 2: Activities Indicated by Self-help Groups

| | |
|---|---|
| Individual help | 20 |
| Group meetings | 33 |
| Information activities | 28 |
| Association journal | 20 |
| Recreational activities | 14 |
| Total of activities | 115 |
| Total of associations | n = 57 |

Source: Jansen, Harberden, and Lafaille

More than half of the associations have group activities, while the others largely work on an individual basis. Something less than 50 % publish a journal while half of the associations devote attention to providing information beyond its own membership. One quarter of the associations organize activities in the recreational sphere.

The individual provision of help and groups meetings are primarily intended to lead to the exchange of experiences with regard to dealing with problematic situations. The emphasis is not placed upon the exchange of medical knowledge but upon social psychological problems and the practice of every-day life. Those who join self-help groups or a pressure group usually become long-term members. Numerous authors have pointed to the reciprocity involved in participation in these associations.[27] New members usually find themselves in the role of receiving information and learn from the experience of others. After a time the roles are reversed, the now experienced members being in a position of giving their experiences to yet newer members. This transformation from being a recipient to a provider of information increases the sense of self-respect and self-confidence, which increases the total benefits.gained. In short, the conclusion must be that self-help groups primarily have a function in the excahnge of experiences. The variable roles played by individual members in this exchange of experience, first as a recipient and then as a provider, give rise to an important secondary effect: an increased sense of self-confidence. Not all self-help groups, however operate in this way. There are those groups in which social contact and sociability is of primary importance. The value of such groups resides above all in the mutual experience of being the victims of fate and the generation of self-respect.

## 4. Voluntary Organizations and Health Education

Rouwenhorst[28] has defined health education as being intended "..to help people to care better for their own health and that of others, and to accept their responsibilities in this regard". The achievement of equilibrium between the three components of care, compulsory requirements, the provision of services, and self-help, is an essential feature of this endeavour. Responsibility for personal behaviour must lead to a reduction of the total of man-made diseases. It is the purpose of this conclusion to consider the question as to the contribution which voluntary organizations in the area of health care can contribute to health education.

It is relatively simple to answer this question in the case of those voluntary organizations which emphasize the mutual provision of help. The most important characteristics of these organizations are:

- the reciprocity in the provision of help;
- the stimulation of responsibility for personal health and that of others;
- the stimulation of self-confidence.

These characteristics have much in common with definitions of health education. Not all self-help groups, however, share these characteristics, as was discussed above in section 3.2. Reciprocity is the primary characteristic of the self-help groups and the social contact groups. It is in these groups that the encouragement of the responsiblitiy for personal health and that of others will find its clearest expression. By means of an exchange of experience it is possible to increase insight in one's own health and one will be more likely to be able to take autonomous decisions with regard to one' own behaviour.

The pressure groups primarily carry responsibility for achieving the equilibrium between the three components of care. They achieve this by, on the one hand, informing their members as to the available medical services and treatments, and, on the other hand, they inform workers in the health services, and the government, about the specific problems of their own members. In addition, these associations make a contribution to the stimulation of scientific research. By means of regular publications in the press, these associations contribute to an increase in the knowledge of the general public with regard to the problems of their members.

The conclusion is justified that self-help groups can certainly make a contribution to the development of health education. Pressure-groups can act as intermediaries in the determination and implementation of government policy towards health provisions. This is less the case with regard to self-help groups and social contact groups. Self-help groups differ considerably in their objectives. Most of these groups are, furthermore, inner-directed which makes intervention from outside more difficult. Last but not least, there is an absence of co-operation with professional services, which do not generally recognize experiential knowledge as a contribution to scientific knowledge. In the field of professional health education the contribution of self-help groups is most likely to be realized by recognizing them as collective organizations of those belonging to the so-called "target groups". It is only in this manner that these groups will remain loyal to their own objectives.

It is less easy to determine the contribution to health education of those organizations which are concerned with the unilateral provision of help. In its own statement of objectives, the Union of Volunteers explicity distances itself from those problems which are directly related to the actual illness of the patient. There is, however, recognition of referral as an important task. The fact that the Union of Volunteers operates in those areas where the family and neighbours are ineffective and professional help is inadequate involves it in the performance of an important bridge-building function. Both of these activities suggest that the Union of Volunteers possesses a good understanding of the problem of achieving equilibrium between the components of care. From the viewpoint of the government a contribution from the Union of Volunteers might reside in the recognition of this fact. The Union's direct confrontation with patients' need for help, could place in it the position of achieving a better balance between these two components of care. The most important contribution of the Union of Volunteers is likely to come from increasing the opportunities of choice for individuals. It increases the possibilities of individuals to remain independent of the family and the professional services, which in turn increases the responsibility for one's own behaviour.

The final conclusion is that both of the types of organizations of volunteers discussed above make a contribution to health education. In the case of those organizations providing reciprocal help, this contribution is direct. Those organizations providing unilateral help make a more indirect contribution in extending the period in which patients can maintain their independence of others.

When present trends persist it is likely that the number of organizations providing reciprocal help will increase in number, while those organizations offering unilateral help will be faced with an increasing shortage of volunteers.

* * *

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# ADULT EDUCATION AT THE OPEN UNIVERSITY: A FORM OF INDIVIDUAL SELF STUDY AND/OR VOLUNTARY EDUCATION

by G. van Enckevort

## 1. Introduction: andragological paradigms in Hungary and the Netherlands

In Hungary as well as in the Netherlands the scientific study of adult education has been brought for already ten years or longer under the heading of a new discipline, 'androgogy' or 'andragology'. Besides some differences in the fields and problems of this discipline as it has developed in these countries (e.g. in Hungary more the field of cultural life, in the Netherlands more social work, community development), there is or was, as far as I can see, a striking difference in the dominating paradigm for classifying and analysing processes and problems. For Ten Have, the founder of Dutch andragology, and most of his followers, 'andragogy' is a process of (non-mutual) influencing by a person in his role or function as educator, teacher, social worker etcetere upon another person in his function as a learner or a client. Andragology has emerged as the study of certain more or less professional activities in the social field (social welfare). In Hungary, andragogy has been considered by Durkó in his dissertation 'Felnőttnevelés és Népművelés' (1968) and other publications, but also by Maróti and others, at least as also comprising the activities by which adults purposefully adapt, arrange and organize the information and the experiences which they receive in everyday life, in reading books, by way of mass media channels and so on. Limited to adult education: in the scientific study in the Netherlands the professional qualities, capacities, roles, techniques, and attitudes of the educator are a central problem, while in Hungary more the aptitudes and qualities of the learner, his environment, and his associations.

This difference could be a very interesting theme for a research work in comparative andragogy. Is it a more or less accidental difference in starting points due to certain persons? Has it to do with differences in the historical development of adult education in both countries? Or is it also a result of dominating socio-cultural and ideological values?

On the other hand some trends in the last ten years can be seen also as a process of convergence. In theory and practice of adult education in the Netherlands the learning projects of adults undertaken and organized by themselves, the role of social and popular movements, the local educational networks and community education seem to receive more attention (see e.g. Hinnekint, Hajer and Van Enckevort, Stroomberg and others). In Hungary the interaction between 'self-education' and 'instruction' and the professional role of cultural workers appear more as important themes in research works (see e.g. Durkó and others, 1980 and 1982). Against this background I would try to bring some links between adult education as 'independent self-study' and as 'voluntary action', mainly exemplified by the education at the Open University.

## 2. Emerging attention for independent adult education

Education as an organized learning effort of adult people, as self-study, as independent study is not a new ideal. It was present in the writings of people as Eduard Lindeman and John Dewey early in this century in the USA as it was in the Netherlands in the writings of Gerhard and Kohnstamm. When adult education in the '40's and '50's became more and more also an object of scientific study in the universities, it was mostly defined as 'a relationship between an educational agent and a learner in which the agent selects, arranges and continuously directs a sequence of progressive tasks that provide systematic experience to achieve learning' (Coolie Verner; similar definitons by Liveright, Jensen and others). Also Malcolm Knowles in his first writings about andragogy conceives it as a 'technology', as 'the art and science of helping adults learn', not as a science of the ways in shich adults organize their own learning. In the '70's the pioneering efforts of Allen Tough put self-directed learning in the centre of thought and research about adult education, and Cyril Houle was again discovered and honoured as foreman of an important theoretical orientation in adult education. Study of adult education is study of 'the inquiring mind': adult education, according to Houle, is 'the process by which men and women (alone, in groups, or in institutional settings) seek to improve themselves or their society by increasing their skill, knowledge or sensitiveness, or it is any process by which individuals, groups or institutions try to help men and women improve in these ways'.

In 1965 Johnstone and Rivera could write that 'self-instruction is probably the most overlooked avenue of activity in the whole field of adult education'. Most researchers and theorists choose to concentrate their attention and energies on the minority of adults who participate in courses, in classes etcetera. This may partly be due to methodological considerations (easier to identify and to classify), but also to the fact that the results of research should lead to increased clientele and to the fact that the students of these researchers and theorists in universities mostly become or want to become qualified professional adult educators. This might also explain why even Johnstone and Rivera saw the 'volunteers for learning' in the end as 'clientele for adult education'.

Twenty years later Stephen Brookfield warns for the danger that the idea of self-directed learning is accepted uncritically as a new academic orthodoxy in adult education. Investigations by Tough, Penland and others claimed that 70% of all learning projects of adults are 'self-planned', that adults typically spend five or seven hundred hours in self-directed learning each year, that much of this learning is effective and enjoyable, not the trouble-strewn path that some professional educators would have liked to believe. The role of the professional is challenged and contradicted; the research gave comfort to the deschoolers who argue that communities contain sufficient knowledge banks, skill models, consultants and natural learning webs (voluntary organizations?) to make formal schooling no necessity for adults. To improve their knowledge and skill adults easily seek and organize their own resources: a neighbour, a skilled colleague, an expertised acquaintance, a librarian who has an overview of good books, and they plan their time and efforts. Adults can educate themselves, whether it is to read and speak a new language, to get an overview of new philosophical writings, or to repair their motorcar.

## 3. The Dutch Open University: an institute for self-study

Between 1965 and 1985 also a number of new practices and institutes in the field of adult education emerged that were closely related to 'independent learning'. In the British Open University, the Canadian Athabasca University and Open Learning Institute, the American colleges like Empire State College, or the Dutch Open School projects, concepts of 'open learning' were developed that came close to those of 'independent learning'. Especially in the sector of correspondence or distance education the idea of independent or self-directed learning gave a welcome theoretical approach in their efforts to show that this education was not inferior, but could be even superior to the direct teacher-learner-interaction-mode of education in socio-cultural group work, class rooms, seminars and projects in liberal adult education. Michael Moore however and Stephen Brookfield argued that also correspondence education has to change in order to foster independent learning: it cannot automatically be identified with independent learning. I will illustrate some discussion points from the experiences of the Dutch Open University (OU).

3.1. The Dutch OU started in 1984, after a period of five years of planning and development of ideas (1976-1981) and two years preparation (1982-1984). It offers possibilities to adults to acquire knowledge and skills and/or obtain degrees in higher education, as a second chance for those who could not enter universities in their youth because of cultural or socio-economic barriers, or as a second way for those who want to combine higher education with work in paid employment or in their households. The main method of education can be called correspondence or distance education. The central characteristics of the OU are its four degrees of openness:

a/ the open entry. There are no formal qualifications required for enrolment, besides a minimum age of 18 years (the juridical age to be considered an adult in the Netherlands);

b/ the oppenness in place and time. Students can study when and where they want. Therefore the main method is correspondence education. Only when necessary for the teaching goals there are tutorials in a number of study centres;

These two kinds of openness are also present in the British OU; the second one only characterizes the German Fern-Universitat, also one of the well-known distance teaching universities in Europe. The Dutch Ou has two further kinds of openness, as has e.g. also Athabasca University in Canada:

c/ the openness in pace. Students can enter or start and end their study when they want and they can divide their time among study, work, leisure etcetera as they want. There is in principle no 'year-system' or a curriculum with a fixed schedule;

d/ the openness in programming. There is not one goal or one route in the curriculum; students can combine study modules or courses in different ways. They can just study one course, with or without a certificate; they can take three or four courses according to their needs; or they can combine some courses following certain rules in order to obtain different kinds of degrees (a free diploma, a diploma short higher education, a diploma higher vocational training, an university diploma etcetera).

3.2. Because of these characteristics the Dutch OU is sometimes not called an institute for distance (higher) education but an institute that fosters independent self-study. Or are these two the same? We have to define more clearly what we understand by these terms. The most adequate definitons are in my opinion:

- Education or study is the organization, that means the purposeful arrangement of resources and conditions, for learning.
- Learning is the development of competencies (skills, knowledge, attitudes) that enable a person to behave in a different or in certain different ways.
- Independent learning, self-teaching, self-study, autonomous learning are, if they do not refer to learning without purposeful organization, more or less the same. The most adequate term would be independent education or self-education, defined as '(education) which takes place when the decisions about intermediate and terminal learning goals to be pursued, rate of progress, evaluative procedures to be pursued and sources of material to be employed are in the hands of the learner'

(setting own goals and strategies, being part of a network), without introducing fixed schedules.

- Collective enrolment. Not only isolated individuals can take courses, but also existing groups of people who can and will study together: groups from a factory or firm, members of a voluntary association or a social movement, hobbyist societies, professional organizations, members of workers' councils or departments of a labour union and so on.

In this strategy correspondence education can use the knowledge about self-directed learning and about the role of voluntary associations in adult education. But in that case we have, in the first place, to be very critical about self-directed learning. This learning, or independent learning, does not occur in an isolated social and intellectual vacuum. The idea of independent education should not be used to condemn adults to conduct their learning projects within their own, often narrowly defined, frameworks of thought and action, and should not suggest that there is no need for an educator who, besides assisting students to refine their techniques, also puts into discussion value systems, behavioral codes or images of the future. The investigations by Tough and Brookfield on the contrary show that succesfull independent learners get assistance by a lot of other people (Tough found an average of 10.6 individuals and every learner using at least four helpers). Acquaintances (work colleagues, neighbours) and intimates (family members, close friends) were the helpers who were most frequently consulted. The majority of the self-teachers said that they would have liked more assitance in the execution of their projects. The help provided by 'amateurs', mostly in one to one interactions, from counsellors, doctors, personnel managers and experts was very much appreciated. Self-directed learners do not solely depend on books, computers, but also directly on human resources.

If we look carefully enough to the research results about independent, self-initiated and self-organized learning, we will instead of emphasizing the isolated and individual aspect, put more weight on the importance of learning networks. Then there seems a good link with the role of voluntary education. It is however necessary to distinguish also between different uses of this concept.

a/ The voluntary attendance of adults can be seen as one of the essential characteristics of adult education as a field of study and practice as compared with youth education. The adult voluntarily enters into some kind of education or into a kind of interaction with a teacher. The subsequent processes and encounters should take this starting point into account. At the same time however an educator cannot forget that attendance and the choice of courses and programs is to a very high degree influenced by social factors, by economic, cultural and political circumstances and that 'acting voluntarily' or 'acting and thinking independently' are not only presuppositions but as much or even more goals to be pursued in educational activities.

(Brookfield) or as 'a process in which individuals, with or without the help of others, take the initiative in diagnosing their learning needs, formulating learning goals, identifying human and material resources for learning, choosing and implementing appropriate learning strategies, and evaluating learning outcomes' (Knowles).

Other relevant terms to which I will come later in this paper are experiential learning (or education) and voluntary learning (or education). On a very general level it could be concluded that the central characteristics of the Dutch OU make it really an institute for independent education, self-education or self-study.

3.3. That conclusion however is too easy and is a conclusion only on the basis of intentions and definitions, but is not yet based on reality. Actual practice, after two years of work and with almost 30 000 students, shows at least the following contradictions between distance education in the OU and independent education:

a/ The main elements of distance education, also in the OU, are the separation of teacher (teaching system) and learner, the influence of the educational organization on the learning process, the use of technical media (usually print), the provision of two-way communication so that the student may benefit from or even initiate dialogue. (Definition by Keegan, 1980.) This means that correspondence education usually exhibits a very high structure, set by the educational institute. The techniques of correspondence education tend to be rigidly prescriptive: it encourages conventional thinking and relationships of dependence rather than independence; it suggests a rigid body of knowledge that can be transferred to learners, rather than a process of developing and acquiring knowledge. Despite the fact that it is written and declared in the correspondence texts that the learner should think critically, should set his own learning goals and assess progress, it is the institute that gives the structure and that sets the conditions: goals, content, methods etcetera of the courses are decided by the educational organization.

b/ Also despite the fact that the text of the courses, especially the use of so-called higher order adjunct questions, stimulates the student for critical and independent learning and tries to arouse a deep-level learning strategy, the research of our department (Vermunt, 1986) confirms the research results at other institutes: a great deal of the students are not motivated for independent education, but want to be informed exactly about what and how to learn. They use a surface approach rather than a deep approach of learning and studying. They want to prepare themselves for the examinations in a way that they know perfunctorily the answers to the questions, wholly based on the knowledge encapsulated in the course material. Most of our students show a heavy reliance on their lesson units, they do not attempt to consult non-prescribed texts. Generally correspondence learners do not behave as independent, self-directed learners.

c/ In yet another way there is a great difference between independent learners and most of the correspondence learners who enrol in institutes like the OU. The learning at the OU is a very individual effort: students are isolated from each other, they study usually in the evenings in their homes and the system is so that this becomes easy, their situation requires such a learning strategy, but on the other hand they feel a lot of problems if working in isolation and most of them would like to have more contacts with fellow-students and with tutors. The independent learners, as investigated by Tough and others, are distinctive in their individual control over learning, but at the same time they rely very much on external resources, both human and material: the self-directed learner is, compared to the correspondence learner, much more working within a social context, being part of a learning network, belonging to a kind of fellowship of learners, stimulated by and holding relationships with fellow enthousiasts who are ready to share concerns and pleasures, to share knowledge and accumulated wisdom.

## 4. Correspondence education, self-study and voluntary associations

The existence of the above mentioned differences between correspondence learners and independent learners should not prevent us to try to come to more relationships. Self-directed learning could fit in very well in distance education. In fact the OU is oriented towards a concept of self-study, but she cannot suppose that all its students are already independent study. One of the goals is that students develop independence and capacity for critical study. Therefore the course books have to contain better formulated adjunct questions of a higher order, the use of interactive testing by computers is stimulated, the courses will have parts about study techniques, and separate study training courses will be offered. One other possibility is the introductions of more social elements within the system of correspondence education. Therefore the Dutch OU will not only give the counseillors and tutors in the study centres a more active role in taking contact with the students, but also tries to stimulate students to get in contact with each other.

Mainly three forms are used or seriously considered to be introduced:

- Prepare-to-study-groups. People who show interest in a study or are thinking about enrolment, are invited to form a group that in six or more sessions critically reflects motives and goals for study, learning strategies, choice of courses, resources for study etcetera. Members of these groups can continue to study actually with help from each other.
- Self-study-groups. During the study students get the opportunities and stimulated to form study groups or study circles. The groups can combine the advantages of correspondence education (structured materials, freedom of place and time) with the advantages of independent education

b/ More or less essential for adult education, at least in a historical sense, is also that most of the providing agencies have been established by voluntary associations. But this origin does not mean and has not prevented that these agencies have become independent institutions, that they have lost their relationships with the original social movement or that their methods and programs instead of fostering community-self-education can be typified as prescriptive diffusion of culture by an elite of the society. Therefore a lot of adult education institutes are not the most suitable channels to establish the learning groups, learning webs or learning networks for our independent learners.

c/ Voluntary education might also refer to learning groups in the community that have no (or almost no) relations with formal educational institutions and that emerge out of specific interest groups: hobbyists, underground networks, social movements, cultural societies etcetera. Voluntary education then means the education by autonomous adult learning groups in a community. Their learning efforts are closely combined with efforts to solve social or individual problems in everyday life and are connected with their experiences.

## 5. Experiential learning: the criterion for combining self-study and voluntary community education

Stimulating correspondence students and/or independent learners to form study groups as a voluntary activity in their social environment in not just a way of helping them to study more efficiently and succesfully, but influences also the contents and the goals of their study. In this way the study of an academic discipline, an academic problem or a social problem will be connected with life experiences.

The experiences that are reflected and incorporated in the learning process, are also a result of the social circumstances and the composition of the group or social constellation in which they are discussed. Experiential education in that sense cannot be only 'the events of life' (Houle), but is also 'the education that occurs as a result of the reflection of a person on his experiences in a specific social constellation'. A concrete example from the OU: the problems of dropout of youngsters in secondary education (cause of dropout, consequences for the curriculum, consequences for labour etcetera), the central theme in an introductory course in social sciences, will be discussed, in another way, when the study group is a group of parents in a community, or is a group of school teachers, or is a group of foremen in an industry, or is a group of individuals who just want to get a degree in social science.

The consequence is this: if we want to accept the necessity of making 'independent learners' out of 'correspondence learners', we will have to recognize that we must incorporate the experiences of these students not just as individuals but as participants in a social-economic and cultural situation. One step further: if adult education is conceived as a movement to help people to become more emancipated and more free from the constraints of dominating values and supposed knowledge, then we will have to create the conditions that experiences from social efforts towards democratization can be reflected and acknowledged in the educational process. If experiential learning in voluntary studygroups is to be creditable not only in academic terms but will also be a strengthening element in developing critical and emancipated minds (the ultimate goal of adult education) then the selection and promotion of such experiences and such groups cannot be random. For this reason too the formation of study groups as a new kind of voluntary associations in adult education cannot be a neutral, technological method: it confronts us with ethical and political dimensions.

With these statements I can come back to the introduction of this paper. How can andragology help us in classifying the choices that are and that have to be made? A new development in Dutch andragology is the incorporation of new theories about state and society in the analysis of the functions and possibilities of adult education, expecially by Hajer at the University of Nijmegen. This approach opens our eyes for the fact that voluntary organizations, spontaneous groups of adult learners also, can be constituted according to the existing power structures in society, the subtle influence of the 'hegemony' of ruling classes (Gramsci), or according to alternative, new, radical-democratic movements. The conservation of existing structures depends at least partly on the way in which education, also adult education, is organized and recruits or promotes its learning groups according to existing frames of social and cultural orientation and values. The study and discussion of problems in chemistry and physical environment can take place in a hobbyist club but also in a group of the environment movement that is concerned with the relationships of physical environment problems with the development of big industries in late-capitalism as well as late-marxism. In our society it is not a spontaneous phenomenon that people combine the problems of housing in suburbs with anti-racism. The segmentation in society influences not only the participation in learning projects and the way of learning, but also the contents of study and the problems that are discussed. The 'old' voluntary associations reflect this segmentation. Some of the newer social movements stimulate new associations as a counter-power.

Adult education plays its role in the struggle for cultural hegemony. Decisive in this struggle is, among others, the affiliation with new social movements: new forms of voluntary associations, self-organization, self-study-groups and action-groups which refuse to canalize the social conflicts and problems along with existing routes and structures, and which refuse to discuss problems according to existing divisions in disciplines, competencies and problem-areas. From this perspective an analysis of the role of voluntary associations in adult education should take into account not only the research about independent learning, self-study, advantages and disadvantages of distance education, but also about the role of the state in the so-called democracies in Western as well as Eastern countries. That could mean that andragology needs another paradigm, not in the choice between an interactionist, a community or an individual mode of study, but a more overruling strategy in the relations between state, society and cultural movements.

And that leads to my final question: does Hungary perhaps offer more opportunities to connect the scientific study of andragogy with political science than is the case in the Netherlands? Another issue for a comparative study.

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# SOME CULTURE-POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL QESTIONS OF VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

by Katalin Fábry and Pál Soós

According to materialist science, "man makes himself" (G. Childe). This means, in the first place, that the emergence of mankind from organic nature, from the animal world, the development of all the forms of its socio-cultural activities, occurred without the control of any external, supernatural or transcendent force. Therefore,man is a "voluntary" being *ab ovo.* The most elementary, most fundamental, primary and still most important functions of human voluntaryism are related to *work* and *family.* This comprehensive, philosophical-ontological interpretation of voluntaryism covers all of its biological, social and cultural moments, aspects and parts.

Obviously, the present seminar cannot treat the problems of voluntaryism in this very broad sense, but narrows it down to the domain of culture, particularly to adult education and socio-cultural animation, and even further, so as to exclude voluntary amateur artistic activity.

On hearing this, the Hungarian adult educator and soci-cultural expert is bound to wonder whether it is necessary and feasible to study the *problématique* of voluntaryism separately from voluntary amateur artistic activity. For, owing to the traditions and peculiarities of Hungarian socio-cultural animation, we consider the amateur artistic movement, its historical traditions, evolutionary trends, fluctuations and prevailing forms, the *par excellence* manifestation of voluntaryism.

Of course, we do understand our Dutch colleagues' intention to separate these two fields, and accept it as a practical necessity when it comes to the delimitation of the subjects to be treated by the seminar. We think it most probable that the voluntary aspect of amateur artistic activity does not play such a primary, dominant, part in the adult education and socio-cultural animation of the Netherlands and of Western Europe in general as it does in the East Central European countries.

After these preliminaries, I would like to touch upon some historical problems of voluntaryism, very briefly and roughly, of course. I think it would be worth investigating the whole history of culture, and especially that of andragogy and socio-cultural animation, from the peculiar perspective of voluntaryism. (Perhaps this has been done already; in Hungary, amateur artistic movement has been researched this way already.) Such an investigation would prove it beyond doubt that the cultures of large communities, classes and groups as well as the sub-cultures of communities in the archaic communal societies and in subsequent social formations, too, all emerged and developed on a voluntary basis. The puerst, fullest and most valuable example fo voluntary cultural activity in this sense is perhaps popular-peasant culture. The reason for that is that the peasant class created everything itself, on its own, in an original and perfectly voluntary way: the instruments of labour, the means of production, its building and dwelling culture, its material surroundings, its familial and communal way of life as well as its moral system, not to speak of popular art, of folklore itself. (This, of course, does not mean that I wish to deny the impact of ecclesiastic, noble and bourgeois culture on peasant culture.)

The voluntary phenomenon or rather its interpretation constituting the subject of our seminar is beyond doubt the product of modern bourgeois development this is of a spontaneous origin, i.e. bourgeois society based on the spontaneous functioning of the market, of production and free competition and on the constitutional civic rights has created a magnificent system of alienated and alienating economic, socio-organisational, state-political and cultural mechanisms that are controlled more and more centralisticaly from the top, beside and against which voluntary socio-cultural animation and adult education evolved. Voluntary cultural activity, of an essentially democratic charecter, isolated from and even fighting against the culture controlled, represented and supported by the official power, can be conceived of as a particular polarisation of the national and international cultures of the 20th century.

Before tackling the cultural political aspect of our topic, let me refer briefly to the historical traditions, of great relevance from the point of view of our present topic, of the Hungarian, mainly social democratic and peasant-socialist, labour movement. In Hungary, as in many other countries, the first actions of the workers took place within the frameworks of cultural associations in the 1860s. In the 1890s, several voluntary peasant reading circles were established, some of which existed even up to the end-1950s, especially in the counties situated in the Great Plain of Hungary. The most militant reading circles fought a very sharp class struggle, an open political battle, with the established power. Since at that time there were already few such movements in Europe, their importance transcended the borders of the country. At the turn of the century and in the first decades of the 20th century, the social democratic trade unions together with their parties and under the leadership and management of Ervin Szabó, one of the most eminent social democratic and Marxist theoreticians and cultural political figures of the century, organised a socialist system of adult education (workers' training courses for the illiterate and advanced courses as well) that both synthetised and integrated all the previous voluntary initiatives of the labour movement. The short-lived cultural policy of the 1919 Hungarian Soviet Republic, the first socialist

Hungarian state, played a similar part. As a result of the cooperation of the left-wing social democrats and communists forced into illegality, under the basically counter-revolutionary Horthy era, between the two world wars, the voluntary cultural strivings of the workers manifested themselves in the choir movement, in amateur dramatic activity and in the various tourists' and sports associations. At the same time, a great many diverse voluntary unions, associations and organisations existed and functioned within the framework of the official social policy and public education as well that even enjoyed the financial and moral support of the state.

As we approach the present day, we should refer most emphatically to the first few years, 1945-1948, of the Hungarian people's democracy, the interval, a few short years only, of the so-called "free education", that was the most prosperous period of 20th century voluntary cultural activity in Hungary. The energies of the popular and progressive intelligentsia, liberated from under the feudo-bourgeois political and economic pressures, resulted in an enormous, flood-like upsurge of voluntary movement and organisation (cf. free education, folk high schools, NÉKOSZ, amateur and other movements). The marked parallelism of political and cultural pluralism, the organic intertwining of democratisation end deavours initiated from the top and the voluntary establishment of cultural democracy started from the bottom was an important distinctive feature of this era. Personality cult, political and ideological dogmatism and the centralistic bureaucracy evolving after 1948-1949 mopped up and repressed most radically all kinds of voluntaryism to such an extent that Hungarian society and public education still bear the marks and effects of this period. The 1960s and 1970s brought about the elimination of the personality cult and of ideological and cultural dogmatism, and considerable progress was made in these respects afterwards. However, in the field of cultural policy and especially in that of public education, the changes were rather inconsistent and definitely slow and protracted. Therefore, only in recent years could the theoretical and practical issues pertaining to the actual and potential place and role of voluntaryism in political public life and in the social, welfare and cultural policies of the established Hungarian socialism be put back on the agenda again.

The historical trends sketched out briefly in the above indicate a series of incidental similarities quite clearly, but they also point to the essential differences and peculiarities that characterise the voluntaryism of the West European-North American and the East Central European systems of public education, respectively.

I have already referred to the fact that the highly concentrated or influenced economic organisations, enormous administrative-political mechanisms, the systems of mass media and mass culture, owned by the multinational big capital in most cases and evolving in the course of the past century and especially in our days in the most developed and prosperous capitalist countries that are at a most advanced stage as regards the processes of the technological-scientific revolution, are neither capable nor willing to undertake the safeguarding of the social and cultural interests and the satisfaction of the needs of society as a whole and of the various social groups and individuals. Hence, in the past centuries and decades, these countries, or rather these societies, have all developed, in all the social spheres, the necessary organisational and operative frameworks of voluntaryism which exist side by side with the official, statutory, forms of action and cover the whole society or a section of it or just certain groups. Moreover, the West European and North American democracies have not only tolerated and supported these forms, but they have actually integrated them into their own social and cultural system.

In the established socialist states, the preponderance and bureaucratism of the party and state organs have brought about and jellified a completely different objective situation with respect to voluntaryism. In the past decades, the strongly centralised socialist party and state mechanisms have liquidated, repressed or suppressed or mistrusted at best the various forms of social and cultural voluntaryism. Of course, this process could not and did not become either total or exclusive. A society in which voluntaryism is liquidated or has died away is evidently doomed. Several voluntary scholarly, cultural, public educational, sports and hobby organisations have survived the excessive centralisation and bureaucratism of the early phase of socialist social evolution. Indeed, the official factors even subsidised, patronised and encouraged certain voluntary organisations (societies for the dissemination of scientific culture, hunting societies, sports associations, filatelists' associations, etc.).

In East Central Europe, the past few years have brought about a certain change of attitude as far as the regeneration needs and strivings of the established social systems are concerned. As a matter of fact, this turn or rather this process began earliest in Hungary and we sincerely hope that it will prove irreversible despite the relatively slow progress it makes.

Our Dutch colleagues have most certainly heard of the close-to-international and occasionally international standards of Hungarian agriculture. One of the explanations of this success is closely related to voluntaryism. What happened is that after 1956 Hungarian agricultural policy gradually eased the constraints of central management and secured better opportunities of self-government and voluntaryism for the Hungarian peasantry in general, for the cooperatives, state farms and household plots. This change of attitude did not pass unnoticed: the democracy developed and solidified (through the National Council of Cooperatives) in cooperative production is unique in the practice of the established socialist countries. Unfortunately, so far the leadership of the country failed to assert the requirements of socialist economic democracy in the industrial sphere as well, but industry most probably presents more sophisticated problems and situations anyway. One may encounter some very faint initiatives in the political sphere as well (such as the initiative of the Patriotic People's Front based on voluntary action), but the process will most certainly gather strength in this domain, too. It is the sphere of cultural policy, containing most voluntary organisations traditionally whose number has but increased in recent years, that seems to find it most difficult to get on the move. After 1956, the main branches of Hungarian cultural policy also experienced an advent of the various processes of democratisation and decentralisation encouraging voluntary cultural activity. However, the centralising trends and endeavours still predominated in the policies of science and of higher and public education. Democratism and decentralisation most advanced in the spheres of literature and the arts. Public education has so far shown nothing but experiments provoking rather sceptical comments. In the following, we shall present a brief overview of two aspects of this problem.

Socio-cultural associations are autonomous self-governing organisations, independent bodies corporate, established to serve some goals related to social life, culture, hobby, sports or self-help. The association is an expression of civic voluntaryism and of the most diverse civic rights and claims. Its existence and operation is usually regarded as a manifestation of democracy in general and of cultural democracy in particular, as it gives an opportunity for both the individual and the community to act on its own, autonomously. The association framework allows the outfolding of activity and creativity initiated at the bottom and directed towards the top, a process that should not be restricted to culture in the narrow sense, but should be extended to the whole rhythm of life, as Iván Vitányi put it in his description of the main notional characteristics of cultural democracy.

In view of the above line of thought, we may state that, as far as the evolution of associations is concerned, (1) the associations, organisations established on a democratic basis, are closely linked to social democracy in general; the evolution of the latter has a favourable impact on the former; (2) the foundation and operation of cultural and socio-cultural associations cannot be separated from the associations in general, partly because the upswing of the association structure exerts a positive influence on the establishment of similar organisations in the socio-cultural domain, and partly because even the associations that are not explicitly public-education oriented may have a bearing on this special field.

How do the socio-cultural associations ofthe Hungary of 1980, not too many in number, fulfil the role implied by the above? According to the data of the Central Bureau of Statistics pertaining to 1982, there exist 66 socio-cultural associations outside Budapest, that is approximately four registered associations by county. In the same year, there were 90 such associations in the whole country, Budapest included, and their number is estimated at 200-300 at present (according to Tibor Litauszki).

Severel writings consider the links and relationships between the association and the culture house the main problem of association life. Before

1945, domestic socio-cultural animation was characterised by the presence of associations first of all, but the period between 1949 and 1951 changed the situation radically to the advantage of culture houses. However, the centralised socio-cultural - and/or special administrative - decision-making mechanisms led to a whithering away of civic initiative and, at the same time, it resulted in the lasting stagnation of culture house activity.

The fact that, despite all legal support, the evolution of associations could not gather strength in socio-cultural animation after the "defeat" suffered in 1949-51, was probably due to the monopoly of culture houses, but some other conditions were also lacking. The association right had been enacted as early as 1946, while in 1970 the law-decree of the Presidential Council established a legal framework that was meant to foster association life. The standing provisions, dating from 1981, consider internal self-government the most important feature of the life and operation of associations and, accordingly, they guard against over-regulation. They interpret the limits of association life very broadly; all discriminations and prohibitions concern actions and persons endangering the administrative, political and economic order of the Hungarian People's Republic and those who are convicted for crimes involving moral turpitude.

However, in spite of all these measures, the state of socio-cultural associations did not improve until the end-1970s.

This datum correlates with the new statutory provision enacted in 1981, but also with the strengthening of the strivings urging a more up-to-date interpretation of the role and tasks of the culture house. The formulation of the tasks of the social leadership in 1979 (that did not go without a hitch), the debate launched on the culture house (cf. Magyar Nemzet, 1981), the experiment aimed at modernising culture house activity (e.g. the Be the Host movement) are all witnesses to the realisation that culture house activity must be based on the live relationship of the institution and its "users".

The answer to the problems raised by the coexistence and cooperation of culture houses and associations is to be found in this domain. If culture houses actually strive to establish "live relations" with their "clientèle", associations, representing special stratum-specific interests and demands, are surely an essential constituent of this relationship.

If, however, we look for an answer at the association, we shall encounter various, often contradictory, views. The crux of the matter is the financial "pull" of the culture house, for hardly any socio-cultural association can survive on its membership dues alone. It is widely believed that by accepting the money of the culture house, the association commits itself to the goals "dictated from the top". Others are of the opinion that the associations of citizens united for the sake of their own education or hobbies should not be granted state assistance. A third opinion wishes to replace the "winded" culture house by the voluntary association.

Another standpoint (advocated by Tibor Litauszki among others) which I find somewhat peculiar even considers it feasible to merge the frameworks of culture houses and associations. This conception wishes to funnel new contents into the "state system of institutions" mediating culture through the association (cf. the establishment of the Csápókert socio-cultural association). It is supported by the fact that good culture houses often "contain" small groups, hobby circles (e.g. gardening) i.e. quasi-associations having their proper traditions, so to say, and an advanced system of self-government that do not wish to detach themselves from the culture house for fear of the financial implications of such a move.

In my opinion, even a superficial investigation reveals two distinct groups of socio-cultural associations at present.

The first group of what might be termed "genuine" associations, managed autonomously, work in a self-developed organisational framework to promote the specific group interests which it expresses (the culture house may be a supporting member).

The second group consists of societies formed on the basis of the right to associate that are linked, however loosely, to a culture house both organisationally and economically.

It is most probable that both types have their own practical value and that their activity will be ever more essential in the future.

Their differentiation and distinction is not meant to contest their practical value but to prevent, as far as possible, the difficulties of accepting them.

# A SURVEY OF THE VOLUNTARY AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF HUNGARIAN MENTAL HEALTH ACTIVITIES

by Katalin Fodor and Piros Kovács

In Hungary, the traditional "programme spectrum" of the institutions of socio-cultural animation has always been rather selective. Supply imposes serious limits on the options of the "clientèle", and it often filters out those who would demand other services beside, or instead of, the usual ones: study circles, lectures, book lending, disco music, etc. The complex methods allowing personality development are not fully developed as yet, while the expert management of intra- and extra-institutional communities at present hinders rather than promotes development as a result of the bureaucratic control that goes with it. Moreover, for those who struggle with personal worries, these institutions are much too impersonal and the programmes they offer are inadequate for the resolution of problems of this type.

This professional worry is enhanced by the crisis of the traditional, individual-oriented, communal forms of Hungarian culture and the barrenness of the culture of human, person-to-person, relations.

The empty culture houses and crowded surgeries of the country make it quite evident that the current Hungarian practice must be altered. However, so far the initiatives aimed at changing the situation have originated in the domain of socio-cultural animation and not in the health care system. Animation practice has expoused new principles which, however, have not gained much ground so far. These principles are the following:

-- if socio-cultural animation, an active component of social mobility, is to take itself seriously, it should feel responsible for the mental, psychic and social state of the population, the whole nation, entrusted to its care and "encompassed" by it;
-- it should be acknowledged that the mental, psychic and social state of the population exerts a fundamental influence on the production, reception and mediation of culture;
-- psychoculture, i.e. the propagation of psychological knowledge, is adequate for the establishment and maintenance of a situation that is optimal within the limits of the feasible. This traditional means is to be combined with more up-to-date forms such as individual and group autognosis, the investigation of the nature of human relations,

the analysis of the various ways of the ideation and prevention of psychic disorders and their systematic study, an investigation of the relations of society, community and the individual, etc. All kinds of mediating functions related to the general social and psychic climate, i.e. personal social services, also belong to this group.

The above principles have made it possible for mental health care to be integrated into the everyday practice of socio-cultural animation. In the past years, activities of this kind have called attention to a number of problems, most of which fall into two main categories: some are connected with the voluntary activity of the population while others relate to professional competence.

The situation if further complicated by the fact that expert training has also acquired a voluntary character. That is, the sponsoring of spontaneous civic activities have raised the demand for expert competence and that, in turn, was again met spontaneously, on a voluntary basis: the experts of the field got in touch to create opportunities of prime and ongoing education -- mostly for themselves.

## The Dual Nature of Voluntaryism

1. The spontaneous mental health demands of the population are not articulated vis-à-vis the relevant institutions.

1.1. One of the possible ways of finding an outlet in case of mental indisposition is to address the system of health care institutions. Such a mental state frequently causes somatic and psychic symptoms requiring medicinal treatment which, however, cannot solve problems that have social roots; it can only postpone and ease them. There is no need for us to discuss the danger of such treatment in detail; suffice it to say that most deviant manifestations can be traced back to origins of this kind. It is to be regretted that Hungarian health care has not reacted sensitively enough to this problem and, therefore, preventive care is still non-existent in Hungary. One possible way of "defusing tensions" is offered by the spontaneous organisation of communities. The various associations (town embellishment, cultural, nature protecting, etc.) and federations (of the handicapped, of persons with impaired hearing, of amateur artists, etc.) have proliferated recently. Although some other types of interest-safeguarding associations (e.g. pensioners' associations, associations of the parents of handicapped children, of ex-cancer patients, etc.) are still lacking, there is evidence suggesting that people await their foundation eagerly.

1.2. The second group of voluntary civic activity takes place within the framework of the churches. Since under the given domestic circumstances this form cannot mobilise large numbers of people, initiatives of this kind acquired a missionary quality. Thus, for instance, the Calvinist Church has treated the problems of "young people on the skids", while the Catholic Church established a "mission to save alcoholics". Such groups consist of both laymen and experts and they concern the non-religious as well.

1.3. It is no be welcomed that the staffs of educational institutions also react sensitively to the mental state and problems of the population. The third main group of voluntary civic activity in the field of mental health care is the one sponsored by the organs of socio-cultural animation. Assistance is tactfully limited to the offering of opportunities and an effort is made to forbear both intervention from the inside and forced management, so frequent in the practice of socio-cultural animation. Socio-cultural animators have realised that the genuine (cultural) needs of society include a development of self-knowledge based on intensive mutuality; the mastering of psychological knowledge, psychoculture; the improvement of the forms of everyday communication; assistance provided in case of problems of life conduct; the development of social skills; assistance in the solution of concrete everyday problems, etc.

In order to meet these partly latent, partly manifest demands, one should command a thorough knowledge of the specific characteristics of the socio-cultural field and the demands that go with them. Without that, even the most well-meaning actions might misfire -- they will seem superfluous or else will fail to answer the demand of the target group. It would be an exaggeration to speak of a large-scale social phenomenon as yet, for that would presuppose a process of socialisation allowing the transmission of qualities such as civic pride, autonomy, self-presentation and democratism from generation to generation. Still, it is to be welcomed that, within the sphere of operation of educational organisations, there exist some groups which have managed to formulate "life-problems", to assess the limits of their problem-resolving capacity, to gather together and communicate their problems to the responsible authorities. This process resulted from the affinity of a certain section of animators and their wish to provide effective social services meeting the demands of the population.

Although the voluntary groups in question have been called into existence by a series of cumulative internal drives, they often manifested themselves in a guise calling for social policy measures (groups of national and ethnic minorities, families or individuals in a particularly disadvantegeous position and in need of aid, deviant youth in need of dwelling/job/chothes, etc.). The alternative solution was the cultural guise which led to the formation of hobby clubs, literary circles or other output-oriented forms. The perspicacity of socio-cultural animators played a most significant part in this phase: they were the ones to realise that these surrogate aims actually conceal needs to be satisfied by mental hygiene. This is true of the social problems, too: shyness, infirmity or the inability to overcome the consequences of poverty frequently detain people from seeking the help of the -- deficient -- social care system, if only because of the existence of another, more convenient form integrated in most cases into the system of educational institutions.

As a matter of fact, these voluntary groups are the antecedents of what have become by now the so-called "beat-the-habit" clubs (anti-smoking, anti-alcoholism, etc.), the so-called "lipid" clubs for the overweight, the clubs concentrating on the maladies of one's state (diabetes, hypertonia) and the correlation-oriented groups (of the handicapped, of people with impaired hearing, etc.). The groups gathering families or children in a particularly disadvantageous position and the clubs of children under state care also belong to this category. Another subcategory consists of looser, but explicitly mental-health-oriented forms such as family weekends, family casinos, and all kinds of table societies. These forms differ from the previous ones in that they are strongly marked by the local oecological context (dwelling estate, town district, village) in which they function and in that they have become forums for local publicity.

2. The other aspect of voluntaryism relates to expert participation. Naturally, the initiatives described in the above have made it imperative for professionals, socio-cultural animators above all, to deepen their knowledge of mental hygiene and master the practical skills of the field. They called on the responsible organs and institutions (the Institute for Cultural Research among others), mainly on an individual basis, to start a systematic processing of the special literature of the field and to organise courses, lectures, etc. They also founded sections, workshops and teams themselves, of which the Professional Mental Health Organisation of the Association of Hungarian Socio-Cultural Animators should be mentioned. The primary objective of the organisation is to strengthen the sense of professional identity of socio-cultural animators employed in mental hygiene; to provide opportunities of prime and ongoing education and to ensure communication with experts of other fields.

The Course on Mental Hygiene organised by the Institute for Cultural Research for experts employed in mental hygiene was also initiated by socio-cultural animators. Participants were recruited by invitation. Tha main objective of the course was to train experts competent in mental hygiene and

-- willing to use their newly acquired knowledge in a professional capacity adapted to the spontaneous civic initiatives;

-- capable of managing groups and individuals or organisations and institutions devoted to other, related, issues;

-- striving to develop other social skills allowing them to perform fieldwork (from counsel giving to the management of the so-called "groups of the healthy").

Most participants of the course lasting for more than one year came from the "auxiliary professions" and had the corresponding qualifications (teacher, animator, psychologist, specialist of the treatment of backward children, physician, social worker, district nurse, ecclesiastic, jurist, stb.). Another group consisted of students whose work implied a great deal of person-to-person contact, i.e. people employed in production, technology, party work, administration, etc.

The dual nature of voluntaryism -- expert training on a voluntary basis and the voluntary attempts of various groups of the population -- implies parallel activities. The only feasible approach is to assist the initiatives of the population by making professional competence available. The voluntary activity of experts has another, quite obvious, function as well: it allows to defuse the tensions generated by their everyday work and private life. This personal aspect of their activity makes the use of reference groups absolutely necessary. Such a group may come about as a result of team work done at the various courses of prime and ongoing education, for example. That is, expert training itself fulfils the same function for professionals as self-help does for laymen.

The above-described state of Hungarian mental health care cannot be improved unless a series of questions are answered first. The answers are to be furnished by action research rather than research pure and simple. Since we cannot discuss the main problems here, let us restrict ourselves to a telegraphic-style enumeration of the most important ones:

(a) To what extent do the motives of professional and non-professional group demand overlap?

(b) What is the optimal proportion of cognitive and group dynamics elements in the curricula of expert training in the two groups?

(c) How can managers best assist the manifestation of latent demands (direct vs. indirect treatment)?

(d) What is the optimal kind and measure of labour division between the various social organisations and associations (e.g. Professional Organisation of Mental Health Care, Humanistic Psychological Association, Socio-Psychiatric Section, etc.) on the one hand, and the state institutions on the other?

Although the above questions had become anything but rhetorical by now, there is no reason why we should not pursue our current activities as intensively as possible.

## A Classification of Current Activities

The various mental health care activities taking place within the framework of socio-cultural animation can be classified by the quality of civic participation and by the way in which they tackle their problems. Accordingly, one may speak of individual- vs. group-oriented forms. The most frequent and, therefore, the most prominent representative of the first group is psychological counsel and consultation for experts working in other fields.

The range of group activities is so wide that our enumeration must be restricted to a list of the most widespread forms: anti-alcoholic clubs (similar to AA); the chain of pensioners'clubs, an important form mobilising quite a number of people; clubs for young mothers, and various youth clubs. It is a common feature of these forms that, instead of being organised along "thematic" lines, they gather people who share similar life-situations. There exist some -- not very many -- explicitly mental-health-care-oriented groups (autognosis, personality development, socio-drama -- also called play clubs --, seminar for the divorced, etc.). The groups treating maladies of one's state (diabetes, etc.), the lipid clubs and the various "break-the-habit" clubs are too new to be widespread as yet.

However, one shall obtain a more realistic picture by classifying the system of current activities by content as well. In this case, we should concentrate on the spontaneously formulated objective of the groups in question rather than on their approach to problem resolution. Interpersonal cohesion colours group norms resulting from the interplay of the various drives at work within the group; it presupposes both voluntariness and volunteering. One may distinguish three main classes:

-- self-help groups (such as the "break-the-habit" -- especially anti-smoking -- clubs; the clubs of people suffering from cardiac or vascular illnesses, the groups of the handicapped, of people with impaired hearing, groups of handicapped children and of their parents, respectively, and the various religious communities);

-- groups contributing to the prevention of mental diseases and to the improvement of psychoculture (e.g. autognosis for young people, family clubs, young mothers' clubs, etc.). Available information is too scarce to show to what extent these forms fulfil the role implied by the position they occopy in our classification;

-- training, social skills or organisation development groups and groups devoted to the development of human resources functioning within a similar framework. The activities falling into this category are the most "uncertain" professionally. However, although so far these are the less common forms, their existence can by no means be ignored. The most significant member of this group is the practical training of university and high-school students. There exist a few professional teams devoted to issues of organisation development in social sciences institutions and to the management of personality development training groups. These groups are driven by a mixture of professional and private motives. Demand for such forms is definitely on the rise.

## Perspectives

As for the future, we would like to develop a mental health care network based on voluntary contribution and assuring the communication of individuals and groups in the voluntary sector all over the country. The network will have to fulfil three main functions. It has to assure the dissemination of information (relating to events, publication, tuition, congresses, radio and TV programmes, etc.); to manage personal contacts (cross-fertilisation of ideas and experiences, assistance provided for individuals having problems requiring expert aid by way of an expert exchange system, etc.) and, last but not least, it should stimulate workshop activity. The last item refers to the establishment of workshops (whether they are called communal psychology workshops, relational workshops, workshops on mental health preservation, workshops on psychoculture or workshops on personality development) by territorial, professional or oecological units or by interest. These workshops might provide valuable contribution to the future development of voluntary activity and, moreover, they could help the trainees get weaned from the trainers. This could lead to the development of specific distinctive features, to a certain self-presentation of the workshops in question. The units of the network thus established could also be used to provide personal social services (within or without the established institutions of education).

One may conclude that mental health care in Hungary has developed into a movement in a rather peculiar way: it was initiated practically simultaneously from the two ends of the professional - non-professional spectrum. Institutional initiative and state assistance seem to have met in this particular case. As for field work, the picture shows a rather varied system of "alternative" activities promoted by the openness of experts, which, in turn, is assured by the presence of reference groups. In our opinion, this is all the more significant since notifications of the mental health care system always trigger various measures and decisions. Such issues presently on the agenda include the reform of social policy (in progress), the modification of the Family Law and the passing of the so-called drog programme among others. A periodical intertwining of (alternative) mental health care activities described in the above on the one hand and of state management on the other can also be discerned.

# GOVERNMENT AND VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS IN THE NETHERLANDS

Two hundred years of adult education and public information (1784-1984).

by B. van Gent

Summary

More than two hundred years ago - to be exact on the 16th November, 1784 - the Society for Arts and Sciences under the motto: For the Common Benefit (Genootschap van Konsten en Wetenschappen, onder de zinspreuk: Tot Nut van 't Algemmen) was established in the Republic of the Seven United Dutch Provinces. This Society is generally regarded as the first large voluntary organization in those areas which have since become known as adult education and information. Much has changed since those days with regard to the nature of the Dutch state and the role of organizations brought into being by private initiative. This paper directs attention to the historical development of the relationships between the (national) government and the various voluntary organizations in the fields of education and information directed towards adults. Four periods are distinguished, each comprising approximately fifty years.

The story commences, after a short preliminary discussion of the different understandings of the term 'voluntary organization', with the decline of the Republic of the Seven United Dutch Provinces at the end of the eighteenth century which followed the great achievements of this Republic during the 'Golden Age' of the seventeenth century. Following a short-lived but interesting Patriotic experiment with a centralist administration and an Napoleonic intermezzo between 1795 and 1813, the Kingdom of the Netherlands was established in 1815 under the leadership of a monarch with strong autocratic predilections. This period drew to a close with the establishment, under the influence of revolutionary events in Europe in 1848, of a constitution based upon parliamentary democracy. For the first time the all important right of association and gatherings was recognized. A second period saw the manifestation of liberality in a relatively rich variety of forms which ranged from the total abstention by the state in relation to private initiatives to forms of state intervention on a limited scale. The definitive emergence of two groups which had long played a subordinate role, namely catholics and calvinists, marks the beginning of a third period at the end of the nineteenth century. The leaders of these groups made thankful use of the right of association and gatherings in the mobilization of

their particular constituencies and the development of their own organizations. The question here is whether this development should be regarded as an emancipation movement or as attempts to achieve social integration. It has been argued that there was a need to organize the confessional part of the working-class along denominational lines for fear of the socialist workers' movement which emerged during the same period. The end of the Second World War marks the beginnings of a fourth period during which the Dutch welfare state developed. This was a period characterized by government subsidies to voluntary organizations which expanded until this system threatened to become too expensive and unmanageable during the 1970s.
A solution to these problems has been sought both in financial cuts and decentralization. The welfare state, called by some the welfare society, has made way for what is now referred to as the 'caring community'.

During this period of two hundred years it is not possible to reduce developments in the fields of adult education and information to any simple evolutionary pattern. Centralist and laissez-faire policies have way to each other in different periods. As yet the present period manifests an obscure combination of both tendencies. An outspoken involvement of the government is accompanied by attempts at decentralization and deregulation. The influence of voluntary organizations, whether as a result of or despite financial cuts, has not been too much affected.

## 1. Voluntary Work: uncompulsory or unpaid?

The term 'voluntary organization' can easily give rise to misunderstandings. There are two aspects of voluntary organizations which can be confused with each other, while within each aspect there are further subtleties requiring some explication.

On the one hand, there are voluntary organizations such as associations and foundations, which are regulated by private law, and which are in general referred to with the term 'private initiative' in the fields of social and cultural work. Individuals may join or leave these organizations freely, whether as a member or a contributor, while there is no compulsion involved. In contrast compulsion is a feature of a number of organizations in trade and industry in the Netherlands which are regulated by public law. This kind of organization has legal authority in the economic field. The same applies to associations with the responsibility for the administration of social security in each branch of trade and industry. Even those individuals who are not members of organizations or employers or trade unions, which together run those associations, fall under their jurisdiction.[1]

It if furthermore not always possible to maintain a strict distinction between associations and foundations. Within an association, for example, the general meeting of the members possesses in principle the power of decision, but very many of the members may in practice play no active role in the work of the association. A foundation, which in contrast to an association has no members, may have however a great many enthusiastic supporters in addition to its formal management committee.[2]

Even more confusing is the fact that the Dutch state possesses the right to establish agencies which are regulated by private rather than by public law, these including the so-called 'government foundations'. Within such a foundation, the board of management will include representatives of both the administrative machinery of the state and private organizations. In the legal literature the necessary reserves have been expressed with regard to this form of organization on the grounds that in this way the possibility of control by public law can be diminished.[3]

Finally it is necessary to point out that the term 'private initiative' may refer to quite different phenomena. Voluntary organizations have, in the course of Dutch history, not only been established by individuals but also by social institutions such as the churches. Individuals and groups have, furthermore, recently developed initiatives which are variously referred to with terms such as 'alternative institutions', 'action groups' and 'new social movements'. These are purposely intended to have a more informal organizational structure than the organizations characteristic of the traditional 'private initiative'.

On the other hand, it is possible to use the term voluntary organization when referring to organizations of volunteers. This usage is generally employed when it is the intention to refer to the fact that people in these organizations are prepared to devote themselves on an unpaid basis in the interest of others, rather than concentrating upon the fact of the freedom of association.[4] Volunteers are to be found, however, in all sorts of organizations. It is a feature of the Dutch system that the organizations characteristic of 'private initiative' have volunteers on the management committee while the actual work is in the hands of professional workers. Conversely, a typical organization consisting of volunteer workers may have paid employees for the performance of various administrative tasks. All of these complex features of voluntary organizations appear in this paper. The central concern here is the role of voluntary organizations (without compulsion to join) within which volunteers (without payment for their services) develop a diversity of activities.

These organizations are to be found not only in the areas of education and information. A distinction may be made between voluntary organizations engaged in communicative activities, such as the provision of information; educational activities such as instruction, training and development; expressive activities such as the arts and sport; charitable activities involving both material and immaterial help; and, lastly, instrumental activities emphasizing the promotion of interests by means of the provision of services.[5]

Partly as a consequence of the economic crisis since the middle of the 1970s, a more differentiated way of thinking about the second component, the volunteer worker, has also developed in recent years. This is certainly the case now that government has discovered this group as an object of policy. In times of financial stringency the volunteer forms an interesting option in efforts to reduce the amount of paid work carried out by professionals. There is a current tendency towards speaking of "unpaid" or "underpaid" work in addition to pure voluntary work; in other words: the volunteer as a voluntaire or as an unemployed person who undertakes work while continuing to receive unemployment pay.[6]

In the context of this historical overview of voluntary organizations emphasis is placed upon communicative and educative associations. These organizations tend more and more to harbour different sorts of volunteers.

## 2. Unity: Centralization and Autocracy

In shrill contrast to the unity suggested by the name of the Republic of the Seven United Dutch Provinces it was particularism which was dominant in Dutch society during the eighteenth century. The provinces and the towns largely pursued their own policies while there was no effective central authority. During the eighteenth century decline became manifest in different sectors of the Dutch economy. The relation between economic decline and the institutional incapacity to achieve some measure of unity is, however, very uncertain. During the more glorious period of the Republic in the seventeenth century there had been a similar degree of internal division. In that period, however, the neighbouring states, in particular England and France, posed little threat to the Republic as a result of both political and religious divisions together with economic weakness. In the course of the eighteenth century this situation changed completely and it is doubtful whether a more effective central authority in the Republic would have made much difference.[7] Little was left to the owners of capital than to invest their wealth for profit either at home or abroad.

A section of the middle class arose in opposition to the prevailing easy-going and resigned mentality, and attempted to turn the economic tide by means of establishing so-called rational improvement societies that were typical of the area of the Enlightenment, such as the Economic Branch (Oeconomische Tak) and the Society for the Improvement of Agriculture (Maatschappij tot bevordering van de landbouw). Given the changed situation in the European economy and their superficial approach, it is not surprising that these efforts achieved little success.

Such initiatives were not limited to new organizations in the areas of economic and agricultural activity. Alongside the long-established universities many new academies and other learned societies were set up which held regular meetings, organized essay competitions and started scientific collections of specimens in the interests of advancing the sciences and the arts. In one prize-winning essay published in 1788, Bonn - a professor from Amsterdam - made a distinction between five different types of such societies, namely: a) general scientific societies with a national basis to the recruitment of members, such as the Teyler Foundation (Teyler Stichting) in Haarlem which still exists as a museum; b) specialist societies which were concerned with only one area of activity, among which was the still existing Society of Letters (Maatschappijder Letteren); c) societies with a charitable or educational purpose, which included the Economic Branch and the Society for the Improvement of Agriculture, together with the Society for the Common Benefit; d) societies concerned not only with the advance but also with the practice of the sciences and the arts, such as the society Felix Meritis which laid the foundations of the later development of musical culture in Amsterdam; and e) a miscellaneous category of societies which were less formally organized.[8]

While education was only explicitly mentioned with regard to the third category, it was quite natural that the other societies were also involved in educational activities. Without engaging in anachronisms it can be argued that the activities of the various societies manifested many of the features of what has since become known as the popularization of science and cultural development. Although the majority of the societies were concerned with the development of their own middle-class members, a society such as the Society for the Common Benefit was consciously directed to the "..*common manual workers in our Fatherland*", the dissemination of knowledge being intended to influence the lower orders under the motto of "..*improvement but not social promotion*" by means of encouraging virtue and discouraging insurrectionary behavior. In this connection reference has recently been made to a "*civilizing offensive*" which was perpetrated by the so-called "*forces of organized virtue*".[9]

The founders of the Society for the Common Benefit were in the eyes of their contemporaries a "dissenting' society on the grounds that their religious convictions were not those of the official church in the Republic. Many of its early members belonged to the opposition to the prevailing regime in the United Provinces. Soon after its establishment the Society become involved in the political conflicts between the Orangists and the Patriots, although it had officially not chosen sides. The Orangists were the supporters of William V of the House of Orange, who filled the position of *Stadtholder* in the Republic and who was loyal to the traditional Anglophile disposition of the House of Orange. The Patriots comprised middle-class democrats with republican sympathies together with a part of the provincial aristocracy. The convictions of the Patriots had been strengthened by a diet of modern middle-class literature and by the revolutionary events in the American Colonies where the colonists had achieved their independence from the English. The new American states were also a source of great profit for the Amsterdam merchants who were engaged in large-scale illegal trade.[10]

Following the decisive defeat of the Dutch in the Fourth English War in the early 1780s, the situation in the Republic developed into a civil war between the Orangists and the Patriots. In the heat of the domestic struggle the traditionally rather colourless press assumed an increasingly political character in a mixture of information and propaganda. Despite the initial victory of the Orangist movement and the flight of thousands of the Patriots to France, the latter returned in 1795 in the company of the French revolutionary army. In his turn William V was forced to flee to England. The provisional result of these changes was a new constitutional arrangement in the form of the Batavian Republic.

In contrast to the traditions of the United Provinces the new leaders were bent on the implementation of a centralized government. The eventual constitution of 1798 declared among other things that "institutions concerned with public instruction, the arts and science are the responsibility of the central authorities". The views of the now well-established Society for the Common Benefit with regard to education found enthusiastic support, but the influence of the Society and its broad middle-class membership extended even much further. According to Schama[11] "Quite apart from its independent importance as a disseminator of new educational and philanthropic ideas, the Society was instrumental in supplying exactly those squadrons of dedicated enthusiasts needed by the state to staff its Agencies". These enthusiasts were not to enjoy much time during the interlude of the Batavian Republic. In 1806 Napoleon appointed his brother Louis Napoleon as King of Holland while four years later the kingdom was annexed by France. The country was quickly forced into a unitary state which was maintained following the return of the son of the late Stadtholder on the defeat of Napoleon in 1813. At first proclaimed as the sovereign prince, he assumed the throne as William I of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1815. The middle-class, tired of the consequences of the Napoleonic period, expressed a degree of satisfaction with this development although this was tempered by the fear that the freedoms achieved in 1795 would be taken away from them. This fear was not unfounded. Upon his enthronement William I made it abundantly clear that he would not help the middle-class into the seat of power. The monarch had few objections, however, to the organizational framework of the Society for the Common Benefit and allowed it to play a role in the planning and execution of his policies. Given that the involvement of the government under William I was particularly concerned with the further development of elementary instruction, the Society was able to undertake other initiatives. The first plans for continuation schools were made known in 1823 and were based upon the, even then, prevalent conviction that much learned at elementary school was soon forgotten. In addition to lectures to its own members on topics such as science, health and the upbringing of children, popular lectures were organized in the optimistic hope that this would diffuse useful knowledge among a broad audience among the lower orders and in this way put an end to the prevalence of massive poverty.[12]

In 1818 the Society was involved in a very different plan for dealing with poverty. In that year General Van den Bosch established the Benevolent Society (Maatschappij der Weldadigheid) with the support of the monarch. This organization can, in modern terms, be described as work-creation scheme involving some measure of compulsion. The urban poor were to be transported to agricultural colonies where they were to bring waste land into cultivation. Through the provision of employment in this manner Van den Bosch hoped that the poor "would be raised to a higher level of civilization, enlightenment, and diligence". This plan enjoyed little success since the economic causes of unemployment were not attacked and only a small number of the unemployed were willing to be retrained as agricultural workers.[13]

Despite his progressive vision on all kinds of questions William I was increasingly confronted with a growing internal opposition. His views concerning public instruction and his policies with regard to religion aroused the opposition to him among a section of catholics and orthodox protestants. Furthermore, his autocratic interference, press censorship and opposition to free trade resulted in growing opposition from the liberals, who were the ideological successors to the democratic Patriots. They found much support among the growing middle-class press. William I abdicated in 1840 and was succeeded by his son whose style of government was at first little different from that of his father. This situation changed radically in 1848 when, under influence of the revolutionary events throughout Europe, William II changed in his own words "from being a conservative to a liberal within 24 hours".

## 3. Liberality: Abstention and Intervention

The new constitution, which was a result of the change of position by the King, expressed a liberal spirit. Among other things, it included the right of association and gatherings. There was as a consequence a significant growth in the number of voluntary organizations, particularly those concerned with popular education and popular enlightenment.

Although the Society for the Common Benefit had obviously not been succesful in reaching the common people despite its constant efforts to do so, similar initiatives were now developed by others. In 1854 the Society for the Improvement of the Working Class (Maatschappij ter verbetering van den werkende stand) was established by Hartman who was the owner of a coffeehouse in Amsterdam. Employers dominated this society and when Hartman proposed the establishment of an association for artisans this was rejected on the grounds that "such an association would disturb the social order". An evening school for adults held in the society's building was not a great success. A further initiative undertaken by Hartman was the establishment in 1861 of a Society for the Benefit of the Labouring Class (Maatschappij tot nut van de arbeidende stand), which organized lectures devoted to popular education. Similar lectures were also organized by a variety of

Associations for Public Lectures and Popular Amusements (Verenigingen voor volksvoordrachten and volksvermaken), which enjoyed a period of growth after 1860. The response was significant, but the results were limited. The workers came for the sociability at the cost of the middle class - free beer was made available - rather than to learn. An interesting innovation was that Hartman encouraged the members to bring their wives with them.[14]

In this period the government did not intervene in the areas of communication and education where adults were concerned. The liberal middle class, whith had come to power in 1848, supported as much abstention by government as was possible. They regarded the task of the state as being solely that of "*promoting safety and public order*". Within the next twenty years however another swing of the political pendulum took place. The traditional view of natural freedom came in for criticism by progressive liberals as "*an empty phrase*". They regarded the state as being responsible for providing for all its inhabitants "*that which is required to ensure them the full joys of civilization*". Their motives were not entirely of an humanitarian nature, but were informed by economic and political interests. Although as a result of a combination of economic, infrastructural and psychological factors the industrial development of the Netherlands had been retarded, the full influence of unrestricted capitalism was now stronly felt.[15] Without some intervention by the state there was a very real threat that the labour-force would be completely destroyed. The system of free competition was itself incapable of preventing the physical and psychological exhaustion of the proletariat. The shock of the uprising of the Paris Commune had, furthermore, made a great impression. A strategy of harmony between the social classes, which included social legislation, was not only acceptable to the liberals but also to the leaders of the religious denominations who were equally intent upon preventing political disturbances.

These rather different social groups did not differ significantly in their attitudes towards the role of the state. In terms of the calvinist principle of "*sovereignty in our own house*", the government was only required to create an appropriate climate and to refrain from further intervention. Workers and employers could in this way develop their own organizations and arrive at harmonious co-operation without disruption. Social legislation should not be imposed from above but was expected to be achieved by the joint efforts of the different interest groups. This was largely in agreement with the later principle of 'subsidiarity' as formulated by the Catholic church, which argued that superior social organizations should devolve as many of their responsibilities as possible to those at a lower level. Accordingly the organization of economic life should primarily take place by means of autonomous organizations based upon trade and industry itself. Capital and labour were regarded as 'social partners' which were expected to co-operate together. Government intervention was only desired when there were threats to the equilibrium of the social system.

The practical consequence of all this was that state and society no longer functioned autonomously, but that there was a 'mutual penetration' although each interest group systematically ensured that its own organizations were in no way threatened. This applied to all the many organizations in the fields of communication and education which were established in due course and were inspired by diverse philosophies of life and ideologies. Each group not only wished to have its own political party and trade union, but was also bent on having its own press and schools which would ensure the mobilitazion of its own constituency. The term 'pillarization' (verzuiling) was invented at a later date to refer to this phenomenon.

## 4. 'Pillarization': Emancipation and Integration

The first time that mention was made of the "four pillars supported by the four philosophies of life among the Dutch people" was in 1938 and was a reference to the fact that the different catholic, protestant, liberal and socialist perspectives had each given rise to distinct organizations in many areas of social life. The 'pillarization' of Dutch society became an object of study for social scientists in the 1950s, and has since then given rise to serious differences of opinion above all among political scientists and sociologists[16]. There are those who wish to restrict the term 'pillar' to those interest groups on a denominational basis dating from the nineteenth century, and who consequently only recognize two such formations as 'pillars'. For others, the phenomenon dates from a much older period. They locate the early roots of the first three pillars as far back as the Eighty-year War, now four centuries ago, and the struggle between catholicism, the reformation and humanism which was associated with the formation of the Dutch state. In the eyes of many however pillarization is more specifically related to the 'school struggle' which began in the early nineteenth century and was only pacified in 1917 when a change in the constitution was agreed[17].

Although the Christian character of public instruction had been determined in 1815 with the establishment of the monarchy, many catholics and protestants came to express their objections to this arrangement. Catholics turned against the fact that the inspection of the public elementary schools was largely in the hands of clergymen of the Dutch Reformed Church. Orthodox calvinists, who had separated from the more liberal Reformed Church during the 1830s, wanted the opportunity to disseminate their religious beliefs in the elementary schools. The struggle for the right to their own schools with a denominational identity was vigorously pursued by the catholics and evenmore so by the calvinists. This led to the establishment of the Association for the Promotion of Christian National Schools (Vereniging ter bevordering van het Christelijk Nationaal Schoolonderwijs) which was "the first mass association based upon modern techniques of organization", and led later, as a result of the efforts of the calvinist leader Kuyper, to the Anti-Revolutionary Party. The organizational form was largely borrowed from the Society for the Common Benefit, its major opponent. One of the consequences of the development of organizations based upon the pillars was that the Society for the Common Benefit lost most of its influence.[18]

For some pillarization is regarded as a struggle for emancipation. The catholic and calvinist 'small people" had remained in a subordinate position in Dutch society until well into the nineteenth century, and the school became for them ideal means to achieve the improvement of their constituency. This proposition has recently come under attack from those who are of the opinion that pillarization was less a question of emancipation but rather the unintended result of a policy to integrate the catholic and protestant workers within the denonominational organizations in order to keep them away from socialist sympathies. Indeed others had previously already pointed to the passivity of large numbers of the population within the harness of the denominational organizations, which had resulted in their leaders having it all their own way, while, at the same time, being able to manage affairs in mutual deliberations at government level. An end to this passivity only came during the second half of the twentieth century[19]. Whatever the case may be, the fact was that the school struggle brought catholics and calvinists closer together, and as a result they became important factors within the political system of the Netherlands and the network of voluntary organizations bacause, as might be expected, the pillars did not stop at their own schools, trade unions and political parties. There was also the aspiration - after a hesitant start - to be in command of their own houses in other areas of social life, which aspiration led to a further development of organizations upon the basis of the pillars. In the meantime the socialist workers had not remained behind, and, in their turn, they formed their own organizations which, as the 'red family', could defend their specific interests. An important role in all this was played by cadre-training and by the press.

Among the catholics a strong organization for the purposes of popular education was at first not considered to be an urgent affair. As late as 1883 the political leadership was of the opinion that the social question could be solved by means of "maintaining the observance of Sunday and the free development of christian charity". It was, furthermore, still possible for the church to profit from the large reservoir of clergy who counted such work as belonging to their pastoral responsibilities. There was also a lack of popular educational activities among the protestants. Change came in 1909 when a chirstian trade union started to organize educational courses for its members. In 1910 a proposal by the socialist trade union of diamond workers led to the establishment of the Committee for Workers' Education in Amsterdam (Amsterdamse Commissie voor Arbeidersontwikkeling) which was particularly intended "to form a core of well-trained activists". This was the first step on the road to what was later to become the Institute for Workers' Education (Instituut voor Arbeidersontwikkeling)[20].

From the start the pillars were active in the area of communications. Established by the anti-revolutionary leader Kuyper, the newspaper The Standard (De Standaard) rapidly became one the most influential of party organs in the Netherlands. Other interest groups followed with their own newspapers. In addition to information by means of the press, the radio became important during the 1920s. In the period between 1923 and 1926 no less than five boardcasting associations were brought into existence by private initiative, each having its own religious and social identity. Supported by the financial contributions of their members, they organized broadcasts and were regarded as the "cement of the pillar".

In the same period numerous attempts were made, particularly by liberal organizations, to provide opportunities for the popular education of the workers in a so-called 'neutral' manner. They were based upon the example provided by initiatives in England such as 'university settlement' and 'university extension'. The first of these led at the turn of the century to various organizations known as Folk Houses (volkshuizen). The intention is manifest in the statutes of one such organization - the Volkshuis in Leiden - as

> "the objective of the foundation is: raising the level of development, culture, and happiness among the working, and comparable, classes in Leiden and its surroundings by means of, among other things, the diffusion of useful knowledge, the encouragement of knowledge, arts and sense of community, through the provision of suitable relaxation and through stimulation of the social intercourse between all sections of society".

The second English example gave rise in 1912 to the establishment of an Association for the Encouragement of Popular Scientific Knowledge (Vereniging ter bevordering van populair wetenschappelijke kennis), which marked the beginnings of the many Popular Universities (Volksuniversiteiten) in the Netherlands. Somewhat later, in 1930, a Radio Popular University (Radio Volksuniversiteit) came into existence, which has since achieved a modest place in the broadcasting system based upon the pillars in Dutch society[21].

Not everyone was, however, happy with this situation. With a view to providing a counter-balance to the division of the Dutch population into distinct pillars, the Association for the Establishment of Folk High Schools (Vereniging to stichting van volkshogescholen) was created in 1931. The statutes described the object of the Association as being "the provision of moral and spiritual development of adult persons as the basis for the renewal of popular culture and the strengthening of the sense of community"[22]. In contrast to the extensive approach by means of lectures and courses by the Folk Houses and, in particular, the Popular Universities, the Folk High Schools were intended to achieve a more intensive approach based upon residential courses.

Faithful to the policy that matters should, as far as possible, be left to private initiative, the government maintained its non-interventionist position in relation to these developments in the period before the Second World War. An exception to the general rule was the concern with the backward regions within the Netherlands. In this connection, the Ministry of Internal

Affairs was involved in 1925 with the creation of the Central Association for the Development of Drenthe (Centrale vereniging voor de opbouw van Drenthe). This association created numerous community centres and supported many other initiatives in the area of adult education. It was intention that in this way the economic and social conditions of the population of Drenthe could be improved and that they were to be actively involved in this development work.

The function of the state appeared in another light, however, when the economic crisis assumed massive proportions in the 1930s and threatened the equilibrium of the entire system. There was a growing concern with the fortunes of the most affected groups among the population.

As a result of close negotiations between five social organizations and the Ministry of Education the creation of the Foundation for Domestic Education in the Rural Areas (Stichting voor Huishoudelijke Voorlichting ten Plattelande) took place in 1935. This Foundation was intended "to provide domestic education for those groups of the rural population which were most in need as a result of the unfortunate hygienic and social consequences of the economic crisis". The foundation was one of the first 'government foundations' which included both representatives of the five social organizations and civil servants as members of the management committee. The Folk High Schools also worked closely with the government in this period of economic crisis. With the help of the Society for the Common Benefit and the Ministry of Social Affairs residential camps for the unemployed were organized in the first Folk High School at Bakkeveen[23].

Following the German occupation in 1940, the exiled Dutch government in London established a government information service, which tried, with the help of Radio Orange (Radio Oranje) to undermine the uniform information services of the occupiers who had established a Ministry of Popular Information and Arts (Departement van Volksvoorlichting en Kunsten). In the Netherlands itself, the war period saw the establishement of an underground organization known as Netherlands National Reconstruction (Nederlands Volksherstel) which was intended to "reconstruct the disrupted Netherlands" in its social and cultural aspects following the liberation. During the early post-war years - a period of great financial need - this organization was able to command considerable resources as a result of public and private contributions. The provincial branches of this organization provided the basis for the later Community development organizations (opbouw-organen) which were established in all eleven provinces on the basis of the example in Drenthe in 1925. Netherlands National Reconstruction can without doubt be regarded as having made an important contribution to the development of the Dutch welfare state following the end of the Second World War[24].

## 5. Welfare: Subsidies and Decentralization

Thoenes describes the welfare state as "a form of society which is characterized by a democratically inspired system of government care which guarantees, given the maintenance of a capitalist system of production, the collective social welfare of its citizens"[25]. As a consequence of the nature of Dutch social relations, the pillarized voluntary organizations are increasingly involved alongside the state in the formulation and execution of social policy, so that one may also speak of a 'welfare society'. This is most clearly expressed in the development after the Second World War of the organization of commercial and industrial life in the form of organizations subject to public law with legal powers in the economic field, a system inspired by the much propagated principle of 'subsidiarity' in catholic circles. The management is in the hands of representatives of the organizations of employers which are recognised by the government. This applies equally to associations in the field of trade and industry which are responsible for administering social security.

With regard to social and cultural activities the intervention of the government was originally limited to the co-ordination of social welfare. An attempt to influence public opinion by means of government information, in a period when the shortage of paper restricted the functioning of the politically plural press, came to a rapid end after vigorous discussions. Information from the side of the government was intended in future to play only "a supplementary role" and was only to "explain and elucidate". Propaganda was only allowed in questions of the "true national interest"[26].

In the field of popular education the policy of the government had long been that of 'following' private initiatives. Given the now strongly developed pillarization of Dutch society there was no attempt to disturb the peace in the field of education which had with much difficulty been achieved in 1917. A short-term attempt by the government to undertake a few 'social-pedagogical tasks' resulted in no more than the distribution of subsidies to the long existing 'neutral' Folk High Schools and the new residential Cultural Centres (vormingscentra) on a denominational basis[27].

The fact that the hope of the Folk High Schools to bring about a breakthrough in the pillarization in the educational field had not succeeded, became indeed evident soon after the liberation. At the instigation of the Dutch Reformed Church a number of Cultural Centres was created which were intended to make a contribution to the personal and religious development of adults in a time of increasing unbelief.

The 'great silence' on the part of the government was somewhat broken in 1953. The government devoted most of its attention to the provincial organizations for community development, as mentioned above, which had been granted an important role in the execution of social policy. In the context of agricultural policy the so-called 'agrarian-social guidance work' started. This form of communication was provided by the organizations of agricultural employers, employees, and rural women, which received subsidies from the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Social Work, the latter having been established in 1952. While the Ministry of Social Work was in part intended to meet the wishes of the denominations to achieve the necessary influence by private initiative in the system of subsidies by the state, there was now no longer any question of the lines of influence being uni-directional.

The degree to which the government viewed agrarian-social guidance as almost its own instrument of policy is shown by the objective: "the stimulation of the agrarian population to the consideration of problems by means of which a greater awareness of these problems can be achieved among them. In this way they will become more receptive to improvement measures, be able to support these with their own initiatives, and contribute to the success of the measures taken"[28].

In this period it was not expected that adult education would make a direct contribution to economic policy, for example by means of occupational training. Within the field of adult education there was a tendency towards retreat into the safe area of leisure activities, now that there were prospects of a reduction in working-hours for many. The government supported this move out of fear that the increase in spare time would not be usefully employed. The establishment of a Television Academy foundation (Teleac) can be regarded as a modest attempt to combine the useful and the entertaining. The rapid growth of television - itself an indicator of increasing prosperity - opened up a whole new field of possibilities for communication and education. Teleac was established in 1963 following an initiative by the Netherlands Society for Manufacturing and Commerce (Nederlandse maatschappij voor nijverheid en handel), which was the direct successor to the eighteenth century Economic Branch, and received permission from the government to broadcast programmes providing information and education.

In the meantime the so-called private initiative had grown increasingly powerful in organizational terms. As a result of economic growth there were increasing subsidies to the voluntary organizations which had now formed structures on a national basis in order to defend their interests. In addition to civil servants as the fourth power-base, there was now a fifth power-base in the "the middle level of society which participated in discussion and decision-making", and which was formed by the new "elite of functionaries" in the welfare state[29].

In 1965 the Ministry of Social Work was reorganized in the form of a Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Work. A broad welfare policy began to take shape in this period now that the government was of the opinion that "more provisions for cultural and social well-being are necessary alongside for material prosperity"[30]. At the same time there was a growing dissatisfaction with the social order. Alongside the more traditional voluntary organizations which had achieved great power, there was a growth of more informal organizations such as 'alternative institutions', critical 'action groups', and 'new social movements' in the areas of social work, education, energy policy, and environmental protection. Their provocative behaviour disturbed the calm political atmosphere in the Netherlands.

These new initiatives mobilized public opinion but, in contrast to the classical private initiative, they remained outside of government.

The system of pillarization had not only brought about explosive growth in welfare work but had also changed its character. Every social group of any significance demanded the right to financial support and the state was merely expected to distribute subsidies on the basis of objective criteria. An obvious criterium was the degree of expertise which would ensure that the money was not wasted. This led to the growth in the number of professionals in the various voluntary organizations. The climate of protest and the demand for participation gave rise to serious tensions within these organizations between the largely volunteer management committees and the paid workers who wished to pursue their own paths on the basis of their political commitment and professional aspirations. Such a situation became increasingly unacceptable for a self-respecting government, and this was even more the case when the international crisis led to economic decline, while all kinds of pressure groups continued to make growing demands. The government decided to intervene.

A result of the fertile ground of the subsidy system was a rampant growth of services. There were different views as to whose responsibility this was: the government and the voluntary organizations giving each other the blame. After various ministerial plans for reform had disappeared in the archives, a Report on Bottlenecks (Knelpuntennota) appeared in 1974. This report which was prepared by a group of independent experts, looked like achieving more success. The solution proposed was that government policy should be based upon decentralization, while great importance was attached to "to the local authority as the government level which is closest to the population, and is best suited to know the needs, interests and wishes of the people"[31]. This proposal involved an obvious attack upon the power of the nationally organized private initiative. In the place of subsidies with an ad hoc character, which were hardly subject to parliamentary control, the report wanted to make government contributions to the provincial and local authorities which would then distribute the money to the appropriate organizations on the basis of a well-considered plan. This also involved an attack upon the powers of central government. To support this policy a skeletal law (kaderwet) was considered necessary which would only need to regulate the most essential features and leave the implementation to the lower levels of government. This skeletal law produced so many political and administrative problems that the Minister of Welfare, Health and Culture, the renamed Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Work, decided to withdraw it.

Despite the impasse with the law on decentralization, the intervention by government has increased in a number of areas in recent years, while the private initiative makes persistant efforts to maintain its power with the help of its supporters in the parliament. In the area of information there are renewed pleas for the use of government information as an instrument of policy and for the purposes of public relations. This can be a dangerous development. On the one hand, much is expected of 'intermediaries', such as educational organizations and interest groups, in the performance of a mediating role in the information process between the citizens and the government. When the government so clearly wishes to propagate its own opinions, there is the possibility, on the other hand, that these 'intermediaries' will assume the character of 'ideological state apparatuses'[32]. Government influence is also clearly manifest in the area of adult education. Rather than encouraging a form of education which integrates instuction, training and development, the government is laying great stress upon those aspects which constitute 'compensatory instruction', and which emphasize subject-content and diplomas rather than making room for the adult learner to decide his or hor own priorities[33].

Organizations in the fields of information and adult education are, furthermore, subject to closures and retrenchment as a result of financial cuts, with the consequence that many paid workers disappear. There are simultaneously appeals for the involvement of volunteers in the 'caring community', which must take the place of the welfare state and the supposed failure of the professional services. In practice this can result in the allocation of 'voluntary' tasks to the unemployed who are available in great numbers - as a result of the economic crisis - for the performance of unpaid and underpaid work. The danger is not unreal that this argument for mutual help, which is inspired by the need for financial cuts, threatens to result in inexpert charity, which, as was the case in poor relief in the nineteenth century, does nothing to change the all too apparent inequalities. The sudden appearance of the creative citizen, driven by love to the service of his fellows, might turn out to be the ideological product of the economic recession[34].

As a result of all this, the importance of voluntary organizations - in both senses of the term - for the government is significant. They can count upon 'continuing support' when they are willing to make do with fewer financial resources, and are prepared, furthermore, to concern themselves with obvious problem cases in the context of a 'priority policy'.

On the 16th November, 1984, the Society for the Common Benefit, which played a key role in the earliest period dealt with here, celebrated its two hundredth birthday. The commemoration took place in the Knights' Hall (Ridderzaal) in The Hague where the annual sessions of parliament are opened. Members of the Royal Household and the Cabinet attended the diverse solemnities. Despite the festive atmosphere there were many worried voices to be heard concerning the near future and the mutual relationships. It would be impossible to envisage a better illustration of the long increasingly complicated relationships between government and voluntary organizations in the Netherland.

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# GRASS-ROOTS PUBLIC COMMUNICATION 1.

## Audio-visual communication as a mediating practice

by F. Glastra and E. Kats

### 1. Introduciton

Film and video have gradually come to belong to the widely accepted media which are employed in adult education, information, and community work. They are used in consciousness-raising and social action. Groups and organizations in these fields of activity have adopted the use, at first on a small scale, of audio-visual media. This took place mainly at the local level and reference was made to "community media" (Nigg, Wade, 1980). The development and distribution of these productions has gradually developed into a relatively autonomous type of activity. As such, it serves sectors of society including education, welfare work, and health care, but it also extends to social movements such as the labour and women's movements. Our own research has shown that there are more than150 of these "media projects" in the Netherlands which are involved in the production of so-called "activation films". These films[1] are produced for a variety of social groups such as women, cultural minorities, the unemployed, tenants, and members of trade unions, and are often produced in close co-operation with these groups. The films are intended to address these groups in a specific manner: to let them reflect upon and discuss certain issues, to encourage them to participation or social action. Some examples were discussed in an article by the present authors which was published in Hungary last year (Kats and Glastra, 1985). Media projects are typical-examples of what has been referred to elsewhere with the somewhat problematic term of "voluntary organizations" (Van Gent, 1986. p. 3.)[2].

This paper is based upon experiences in England, the birth-place of "community media" and our own research into media projects in the Netherlands. In the first place, we briefly examine the development of the film and video movement and its relation to other social movements. We subsequently identify the characteristics of this movement in its early phases, and the major trends in the current practice of media projects. In working with activation films one encounters the tensions between the systems of signification in film and the everyday life of the audiences of these films. We conclude the paper with a discussion of these tensions in terms of a theoretical perspective which places particular emphasis upon the field of social forces within which media projects play a mediating role. In a second paper[3] we discuss some aspects of our research into the practice of media projects and its social background.

## 2. The development of the community media movement and the politics of public communication

Although the specific backgrounds of community media projects are varied, many can trace their origins to the democratization movement at the end of the 1960s (Nigg, Wade, 1980; Van Gent, 1986, p. 18.). This broad social movement was also manifest in the cultural field. There was a desire to break through the elitist structures of art, drama, music, television and film, their lack of social relevance being a particular object of criticism. Art was to be returned to the people, in the neighbourhoods and factories, these being two social spaces in which social opposition was perceived to be most manifest. We may note the influence of a marxian social analysis in this position. This gave direction to the choice of themes, which were above all located in the area of economic exploitation and struggle, the choice of target groups, such as workers and tenants in old urban neighbourhoods, and the consciousness-raising methods to be used. This orientation is to be found in the "Amsterdam City News" (Amsterdam Stadsjournaal), which was one the first media projects in the Netherlands. Its early films dealt with criticism of the capitalist relations of production in themes such as housing, employment, and transport, while later on use was made of Negt's theory of consciousness-raising (Heys, 1984, pp. 24, 34.).

There was at first great optimism as to the possibilities for emancipation and social change, and the contribution of new electronic media. Community workers and committed film makers joined hands with a view to the 'demystification' of the hardware itself, to stimulate 'critical viewing', and to promote social change. They sought to create an "oppositional sphere of public communication" in contrast to the fossilized structures of the established mass media.

Following Enzensberger (1970) it was the intention to unlock the communicative potentials of the media which were not used within the prevailing social relationships. This debate about the social functions of the mass media was not without its consequences for the politics of public communication pursued by social groups such as the trade unions, the women's movement, cultural minorities and tenants associations. It is a vital necessity for these groups to actively pursue such a policy. They wish to inform people, to recruit or mobilize a constituency, to develop their perspective or programme, and to engage in discussion with other positions. They rarely enjoy these opportunities in the mass media (Van den Berg, et. al., 1982). There are different strategic options for these groups which range from adaptation to the demands of the medium (cf. Fang, 1972, p. 137), through exerting political pressure upon journalists (Bleich, et. al., 1982, p. 79), to establishing their media separeted from or in opposition to the mass media (Negt, Kluge, 1972). The emergence of film and video groups is closely related to this problematic. From their very beginnings media projects have performed a mediating role in the politics of public communication. Many of these pretentions have survived in the further maturing of the work of media projects, although some evidence of scepticism can also be observed with regard to the direction that these developments have taken (cf. Independent Video, 1983). Has, for example, the goal of demystification not been primarily instrumental in expanding the market for video equipment? Is allowing the layman to make a programme and confronting him with all the necessary complications, not primarily an effective way of impressing upon him a deep-seated respect for the professional television-maker? What are the implications of the current scepticism in the alternative film and media movement for the above-mentioned social groups? In order to answer such questions it is first of all necessary to examine a number of the features of the kind of media practice which was particularly dominant in the early phase of this movement.

### 3. Film and video as community work

Organized social and cultural welfare work impressed its stamp upon the early development of the media projects which sprang up as the product of the democratization movement of the late 1960s. Such work particularly at the neighbourhood level provided a 'natural' institutional location in which film could be related to democratization and emancipation. These local manifestations of welfare work were dominated by a community ideology in which neighbourhood or community development was a central feature. Community workers and committed film makers employed film and video to involve residents more fully in their housing and living conditions. In England, this is the essence of "community video". The model for many community video projects in England was the "Challenge for Change" project of the National Film Board in Canada (Hopkins, 1972). This project was a response by the Canadian government to the social unrest at the end of the 1960s. It was the intention to make use of film and video in order to stimulate the participation of the population in finding solutions for social problems. Unrest among minorities was a focal point of the project (Barnouw, 1983, p. 258.).

One of the earliest films about a poor family in Montreal was intended to cultivate understanding of the problem of poverty (Kurchak, 1974, p. 23.). Quite the opposite effect was the result. The family concerned was forced to leave their neighbourhood as a result of the stigma following the showing of the film. In the subsequent "Fogo Island" experiment, short films were employed to encourage communication between the inhabitants on the island (Rosenthal, 1980, p. 348). Each film was modified on the basis of the comments of those involved before it was shown to others. This was the lesson learned from the failure in Montreal. The redevelopment of social life on Fogo Island was the primary concern. This was also the reason why the films were not edited into a single so-called 'horizontal' film. Streamlining, arranging the dominance of some standpoints or protagonists over others, would only serve to block the process of communication (Kurchak, 1974, p. 23.). In a subsequent project, which resulted in the film "You are on Indian Land" (1969), learning to film and the use of video as a mechanism for feed-back moved into prominence as aspects of a more broadly based project (Rosenthal, 1980, p.

366 f(f)). In this manner, film and video were more explicitly placed in the context of processes of learning and change and lost some of their pure documentary character.

The development of "Challenge for Change" provided points of reference for the use of film and video in the context of neughbourhood work and community related forms of adult education and information, in particular the development of a specific production style in such contexts. Some typical characteristics of this style may be sketched. Community development is the most important principle in this approach. To this end different paths may be followed which may vary from offering passive support to ongoing activities to the active design of new activities. In all situations the active involvement of the local population is required in the production of a film. Learning to film can be organized as an ntegral element of the process of community development to which the film is intended to make a contribution. Not olnly the selection of partners for co-operation in the production process, but also the choice of themes, for example, dangerous traffic situations, exhorbitant rents, totether with happenings in the community and local history, and of screening situations, in community centres or at streetmarket, are based upon the involvement in the community. Both the production and the viewing of the film are bound together in this manner in an integral process of communication which places great stress upon learning and the process of community development. The film as such is seen as a by-product, as an instrument in social action, or as part of a learning experience.

The problem of the specificity of visual representation was not originally a significant question in this practice. The often limited forms of esthetic renewal must be seen in terms of a radical democratization of the film in the sense that all concerned may express themselves, while the differences of opinion need no longer be resolved in the film.

This practice of community video sketched ideal-typically here still exists, although it is no longer dominant. In the following section we indicate a number of important tendencies.

## 4. Tendencies in the practice of film and video projects

Making video and film equipment accessible may be regarded as a characteristic of community related media projects. In recent years this use of the media has become less frequent. The hardware itself has become more fragile and costly. In addition, it is often used inadequately and, therefore, with disappointing results for those concerned. It has also become obvious that certain groups, for example the elderly, make little use of the facilities on offer.

Recognition of this problem has led in many situations to the rejection of a passive and neutral approach for example in making equipment accessible, and the adoption of forms of positive discrimination. This more active approach by media projects has been influenced by a growing recognition of the differentiation of social conflicts. The complexities of ethnic, gender, generational and class relationships had often been reduced and homogenized in a crude manner in the ideal of community development which had dominated the original "community media movement". There is now a tendency towards adopting special relationships with specific social movements, while there is a growing awareness of the cultural traditions with which one is then confronted.

The conclusion has been drawn, furthermore, that projects making use of film in the context of community development were most successful where they were able to relate to existing neighbourhood traditions (Isphording, 1984, p. 11). Where these traditions no longer existed, the objectives of the projects were not realized or the results did not prove to be permanent (of. Independent Video, 1983). This instrumental use of film and video in community work has consequently lost much ground.

This development has contributed to the independence of the educational moment in the practice of film and video projects in relation to activities in the spheres of production and distribution. It is precisely in the case of neighbourhood projects, where learning to film was originally conceived as an integral element of a democratic community development process. Learning to film is now approached more as a skill which, as a separate activity, is now institutionalized in the form of film and video 'workshops'.

Possible groups for co-operation in productions are now less exclusively sought at the local level. Much use is still made of knowledge and contacts with organizations in neighbourhoods, but it appears that film workshops form an equally important source of recruitment. Co-operation with national organizations and movements has become increasingly attractive from the viewpoint of distribution and income. The pretention of maintaining complete control of the educational use of the programmes has disappeared, and the responsibility for this is more often left to the user groups themselves. A change in media projects has resulted from the growing autonomy of film practice in relation to target groups, and from attempts to extend existing markets and explore new ones. There is now more emphasis upon the quality of the film. This is not primarily a question of technical quality. Of greater importance are the developments in themes and approaches to the production.

## 5. Themes and approaches in the productions of media projects

A variety of themes are dealt with in the productions of alternative media projects which may vary from discrimination and exploitation to less serious concerns such as a theatrical event or a street feast. Despite thematic variations it is, nonetheless, possible to indicate a number of global lines of development. There is, for example, a recognisable shift away from specific neighbourhood themes to those of wider significance. Themes are increasingly chosen which could be filmed at the local level, but which possess broader social, political and cultural implications (vgl. Heys, 1984, p. 53; Braden, 1983. pp. 33, 55). Racism, insecurity, and growing older are examples. In addition themes are often chosen which are primarily above the local level, such as soil and air pollution or nuclear armaments.

Although films in the documentary tradition are still employed to expose abuses, there is increasing recognition that other forms of action may be more adequate in producing results. The film as an expression of identification with people in positions of disadvantage can, furthermore, all too easily contribute to their stigmatization (cf. Braden, 1983, p. 68; Wentholt, 1982). The growing independence of an important section of the alternative media projects has resulted in less importance being attached to direct action or organizational perspectives in audio-visual productions (Independent Video, 1983, p. 3), while other thematic areas are being adopted.

If the themes of films were previously found in the sphere of direct material interests, they are increasingly drawn from an area with broader cultural implications: Many women's and homosexual films were originally exposures of abuses and discrimination. This applied equally to films about cultural minorities. Emphasis upon their own identity is a more recent development which gives primacy to their own specific forms of expression, and which often gives the productions a somewhat celebratory character. The free documentary and the "personal revelation film" (cf. Rosenthal, 1980, p. 17), with their emphasis upon motives and feelings, are receiveing more attention than previously. In manny films the emphasis is placed upon research into the quality of contemporary living: generational problems, health, sexuality, forms of co-habitation, religion, etc. (Rosenthal, 1980, p. 17; Heys, 1984, p. 57).

In addition to the democratic organization of production and a specific choice of themes, the development of a particular approach to filming rapidly became a characteristic of media projects. This involves an area in which those filmers, who did not expect the effects of activation films to come from the organization of the production process but from the specific qualitie of the film itself, have long expressed different opinions (f. Lovell, 1980; Harvey, 1978). Is it enough to show what is ignored by the mass media, or must this be visualized in a different manner? Is it enough to stimulate participation in social action or should a new way of viewing be simultaneous learned? The origins of a particular approach developed from criticism of the mainstream documentary and news in their television form. The objects of this criticism were the concentration upon the production of "facts", and the homogenized effect of the "voice-over" technique, the smooth commentary, which has long determined the discourse of the critical social documentary as well (Barnouw, 1983, p. 131; Independent Video, 1983, p. 5; Rosenthal, 1980, p. 415).

The search for alternative forms of visual representation soon gave rise to, among other things, a so-called 'pluriform approach' (Kats, et. al., 1982.)

Reality is not readily forced into a single explanatory framework, but is layered and full of contradictions, and must be shown as such. The period of the cut-and dried solution in the film has been left behind. Film has become more of a search for reality which can no longer be regarded as obvious or one-dimensional. The personages in a film and their situation no longer function as illustrations of a preconceived idea or as the flesh and blood of a shootingplan. More fundamentally the notion of a visual representation as evidence of reality is sometimes left behind. In many projects there are attempts to escape from the classical problematic of realism. Images are now more often seen as a reality in its own right.

This has led to a separate place for the problem of expression in the work of film and video groups. The aesthetics of activation films have moved into prominence in the case of activation films. In this regard, greater emphasis is placed upon the elements of play, narrative, humour, and music, together with the ambiguous power of visual images at the cost of the restrictive influence of the spoken text and explication (Heys, 1984, p. 69; Vaughan, 1978, p. 22). The Brechtian alienation effect, often employed in a humourless manner, no longer serves as the only way of misleading the spectator or turning the world on its head.

## 6. Communication and the collision of cultural practices

The developments discussed above illustrate that audio-visual media are not the neutral channels of unambiguous information as was the assumption of the early community media movement. The use of audio-visual media assumes its form in the developing film practice. This film practice operates at the intersection of, on the one hand, the life world of social groups, and, on the other hand, social institutions such as welfare work, health care, broadcasting, news-services, cinema, the arts and sciences. According to Van Doorn (1978, p. 21) such institutions, which he describes in his own terms as the "social middle-ground", mediate the social problems with which people are confronted (cf. Van Gent, 1986, p. 18). In this way welfare work raises specific forms of consciousness among groups of the population. The traditions in these institutions will be selctively reproduced and transformed in media projects and will pull or push these in a certain direction (Williams, 1961, pp. 49 f(f)).

The productions of activation films implies a specific representation of social problems. This is a process governed by different factors including the aesthetic principles of filmmaking or everyday television broadcasting, traditions of participation in community development and the democratization movement, and the specific cultural traditions which audiences introduce.

An example drawn from alternative media practice may serve to make clear the complexity of the communication process in which there is co-operation with audiences. A worker attached to the Moonshine Video Project in London found himself in conflict with a women's group for which he was making a video production. He portrayed the activities of the group which were directed against the placing of nuclear weapons close to London. His film made an appeal to the viewers to get involved in activities and made use of the enthusiasm, persistence, and motives of the women as the means to this end. The finished product manifested the specific documentary tradition within which the filmer performs his work, which can be best described as a form of 'visual humanism'. Reality, in which the human is essential, requires no direction or elucidation in order to reveal its drama; the filmer only makes use of his skills to allow reality to tell its own story and avoids any commentary on his part.

The women's group disapproved of the film. From their point of view it was caught up in an emotional description which only made an appeal to the sympathies of others. They found it more important to make it clear to others how such a group could be formed and organised. To this end it was necessary to have a more explicit organization of the content, 'voice-over' commentary, and explanation.

The co-operation between the filmgroup and target group has the character of a collision of cultural practices. The practice of filming operates in the area of film representations. This defines its specificity. It is linked to a tradition of differing conceptions with regard to problems and solutions of visualization. This varied cultural tradition determines the nature of the system of production, the production styles to be employed, and is the subject of much discussion. In this regard the film practice is not autonomous but operates in the sphere of influence of social institutions such as the mass media and welfare work. In the terms of the rules of welfare work certain groups are declared as 'target groups', 'problem groups' or 'disadvantaged groups'. Problems are in this manner defined, demarcated, placed in a context, and made manageable. The model of community media involves defining problems on the level of the neughbourhood and views community development as the solution. We have seen that such community ideologies are losing their significance for media projects. The productions of media projects imply different ways of visualization of problems and solutions which are present in the social ceontext.

Target groups and their organizations can also be analysed as cultural practices. In the example of the women's group referred to above, their way of working may be regarded as a specific way of producing problems and solutions. The way of life, the forms of expression, and the oppositional forms of the group are all part of the cultural tradition of the women's movement. The latter brings a specific form to the struggle against nuclear armaments. Feminism and the opposition to nuclear weapons form the points of reference for the perspective adopted by the women's group in the discussion of the problem of representation in the film. Women are conscious activists from whom something can be learned and not the objects of emotional identification. This understanding of culture makes use of William's definition of culture as

> The set of practices through which men and women actively respond to the conditions of their social existence, creatively fashioning experienced social relationships into diverse and structured patterns of living, thinking and feeling. The emphasis, within this account, is placed on the notion of human agency. (Bennet, et. al. 1981, p. 10)

Problems are also transformed in a specific manner in the everyday life of social groups, and these transformations may conflict with the practices of welfare work and mass media, whether the latter are alternative or not.

## 7. Theoretical aspects of the intermediary role of media projects

Social problems are transformed in specific ways in the films produced by media projects. Images of unemployment arise in the struggle between retrenchment policies, an esthetic film practice, and forms of social resistance which are occasionally millitant. In this context a key question is how meaning is produced and how is relates to the meanings (re-)produced by audiences (cf. Ang, et. al., 1981, p. 48). In our own research we analyse this kind of process in terms of the so-called 'encoding-decoding model' (hall, 1980, pp. 128 f(f)). According to this model audio-visual communication is not a linear process involving a source, a message, and a receiver, but is rather a chain of practices in which meanings are transformed. The film practice functions amidst a range of other practices. The meanings transformed by film practice are themselves the products of other social practices. We are always concerned with the transformed meanings and never with untraneofrmed or original meanings (Kats, et. al., 1982). Politics, social movements, the economic system, and other social institutions, produce meanings which serve as the raw materials for media projects, which are reproduced by them and transformed into activation films. This can be compared with the well-known idea that events represented by television are not identical to, and, in principal, can never be identical to the 'original' events. Television news produces its own reality which does not need to correspond to the realities produced elsewhere (Glasgow University Media Group, 1976, [illegible]).

If a programme is to form a meaningful whole it must conform to certain rules. A series of events is a such not communicable. This can only occur when these events are transformed into a story and given a discursive form. This is to say that the story must be in accordance with rules such as those of language and, in the case of audio-visual communication, those of the 'language of images'. The filmic structure of meanings forges a narrative into an unity, although the process of forming such an unity is not unproblematic. We refer to the manner in which a film emphasises either continuities or discontinuities with the term 'linkage discourse' (Brunsdon and Morley, 1978). In didactic variants of activation films, it is often the 'voice-over' commentary which allocates the different series of images to their appropriate places. when there is doubt about ready-made solutions, the form of the linkage discourse' changes. In these situations

> the images are given the opportunity to demonstrate their ambiguity and to tell their own story. It was then discovered that the layered nature of the images said more than words would lead one to believe. (Heijs, 1984, p. 69)

A film creates a certain room for social action, a configuration of problems, solutions and actors. We refer to the creation of these configuration with the term 'positioning' audiences, which includes a number of features such as the presence of a 'promotion strategy', the preference for certain solutions above others, such as "only hard social action can lead to results" or "you must first refresh your knowledge". Of crucial importance here is the creation of 'subject positions', establishing, repeating and modifying roles for the active and speaking personages, for example the expert, the anchor-man, the adult learner.

If an audio-visual programme is to function it must, however, undergo further transformations. The meanings in an activation film are reproduced in terms of the rules and rule-systems which hold in the social practice of audiences. Hall (1980, p. 130) refers to this as the 'decoding' of systems of meaning. The structure of a programme can imply a certain 'preferred reading' (Hall, 1980, p. 134). The public can, however, enter into negotiation with this reading in terms of the rules in their world of experience. A slogan in activation films in the field of adult education such as "learning helps you get on" frequently functions as a solution for all problems. Potential participants in adult education with negative experiences in earlier education, however, are unlikely to regard the very source of these experiences as the most appropriate solution for all ills. "Learning is good, but not for me" is a typical example of a 'negotiated reading' (Hall, 1980, p. 137). Involved here are both the 'interference' of systems of meaning and the relationships of dominance between them. The apparent success of an information film may in fact be based upon domination and subjection. Information provided by television about the reasonableness of lower wage-rises in the general interest can at first appear to be highly successful among those who, nevertheless, participate in action against such measures in the work-place (Hall, 1980, p. 139 f(f)).

In the 'encoding-decoding model' the rule-systems which govern the production and reproduction of audio-visual programmes are referred to as 'ideologies'. This approach regards social problems, in an almost classic Marxist sence, as the raw materials which are reproduced in every moment of the communication process. In contrast to the classic marxist model, however, this is not a question of 'original' social problems which are distorted during the process of producing meanings. Social problems cannot exist independently of ideological systems of meaning. In the social practices constituting the communication process, these systems of meaning are continuously transformed. The eventual agreement between encoding and decoding is subject to continuous tension (Hall, 1980, pp. 128, 136). In the light of the above it is important to analyse the rule-systems which provide the basis for the functioning of film practice, and to examine the social background of these rule-systems. Our research is, among other things, directed to this end. In a second article we shall deal with some aspects of this dimension of the research.

## Notes

1. Whenever in this text there is mention of 'films', video's are also implied.
2. This text to which we refer on several occasions, is also to be presented at the symposium.
3. The second text: 'Grass-roots public communication 2, rules and ideologies in film practice' is also to be presented at the symposium.

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# GRASS-ROOTS PUBLIC COMMUNICATION 2.

## Rules and ideologies in film practice

by F. Glastra and E. Kats

## 1. Abstract

In another paper we have sketched the origins and development of media projects which are concerned with the production of activation films in relation to education, information, neighbourhood work, etc.[1] It was argued that communication, especially in these contexts, is characterized by the collision between cultural practices. This phenomenon was examined in terms of a theoretical framework which proposed that film practices function according to rule-systems which can be in conflict with those of other social practices. This is of particular importance with regard to those rules which hold in the everyday life of audiences.

In this second paper we will deal with some aspects of our research into the rules which operate in the practice of media projects. One such aspect concerns the rules which workers in these projects employ in order to put their actions into words. A second aspect of the research involves the different production systems which have developed under the influence of the documentary tradition and public television. In the final section we discuss a third aspect of the research which is concerned with the societal dimensions of the development of film practice. These societal dimensions are located in the economic crisis and the crisis of the welfare state, and the development of new social movements which is partly related to the latter crisis. We return to a discussion of the consequences of the work of media projects for the politics of public communication developed by social organizations such as the trade union movement, the women's movement, cultural minorities and neighbourhood groups.

## 2. The rules of film practice

In order to reconstruct the rules of film practice we have first of all conducted research into the rules employed by workers in media projects to describe their actions. To this end we have made use of insights developed in the context of action research. Here the research process is placed at the disposal of problem-solving prosesses in practical situations such as those of media projects (see: De Visser, 1980; Doets, 1982; Kats and Glastra, 1983). Action researchers do not concern themselves with the description or explanation of different situations and their development in terms of social backgrounds. On the contrary an attempt is made to systematically integrate the often widely divergent insights in practical situations into a 'repertory of action'. The product of action research is not an analysis of the practice of media projects but a system of rules of action which can be employed in that practice (cf., Doets, 1982, pp. 34, 96.).

With regard to a variety of questions alternative media practice has given rise to a degree of development in the methods employed. Such practical knowledge constitutes an important source for action research (o.c. see par 2.7). The repertory of action developed in our research comprises five main categories of rules for action which are illustrated below on the basis of some examples.

The first main category involves the initiative leading to the making of a film. This can take place in various ways. The workers in media projects can wait to see whether they come into contact with social groups who desire some sort of audio-visual backup. It is also possible that one keeps a close watch on the pace of social developments and takes the initiative oneself. A useful method in this connection is the cultivation of a network of contacts which can help both parties to find the right road. One can also concentrate upon one or more specific social movements.

Once the initiative has been taken, those involved arrive at a more or less shared handling the production. Each method of production involves specific forms of co-operation which have their own specific problems: these comprise the second major category of rules for action. A variety of workable strategies is available which range from, on the one hand, co-operation throughout the entire production process in the context of community development, to, on the other hand, the independent production of activation films by media projects. The degree of co-operation may vary in different phases of the production process. In this respect it is possible to make a distinction between the preparatory phases and the actual production of the film. One further complicating factor is that one is involved with different groups: client groups; those involved in the theme of the film, who may or may not feature in the film; and the audiences or targetgroups. The creation of a consultation group possesses many advantages, but carries the risk that the contact between the filmers and the constituency may be lost.

A third main category of rules for action concerns the manner in which the research for films takes place. This research can be concerned with numerous aspects of the production: the collection, the analysis, and the (didactic) organization of the material; the exploration of locations; the casting of people to be filmed or who are to play a role in the film as spokesmen, presentators, commentators, etc.; and the diverse audiences, viewing situations and users of films.

The fourth important category of rules of action involves the organization of the production of films. There is here a constant tension between the preparatory planning and responding to actualities. When the purpose of a film is related to a direct perspective of political action or organization a complete shootinglist is an almost impossible ideal. Frequently, a scenario is out of the question, although it must be at least possible to work with a synopsis. In a more independent film practice there is more room for this. The production process can be divided into a great number of phases of which a number have already been mentioned. Such a division also makes a division of tasks a possiblity. The pressure of time and the shortage of manpower work, however, in the opposite direction.

Another important aspect of the organization of the production is whether a possibility is built-in of changing the provisional results. Viewings of the film can be used to this end at the completion of the production process. Occasionally it is possible to modify films on the basis of experience in using them, new audiences or changed conditions. The use of video increases thesepossibilities. Finally it is possible to make systematic use of previous experience in subsequent projects.

The production process eventually results in a film with a certain methodicconstuction. This applies both to the global outline of the film and its detailed features. The best way of giving an impression of this category of rules for action is to enumerate some of the dimensions involved. These include:
- aspiring to familiarity or surprise;
- stimulating or obstructing possibilities of identification;
- stressing emotionality or objecticity;
- partiality or neutrality;
- providing information or showing social activism;
- background information or registration of actual events;
- criticising discrimination or celebrating cultural deviancy;
- emphasis upon the seriousness of the situation or giving room to humour and amusement;
- maintaining or giving up chronological narration;
- editing sequences into a flashing or a slow rythm;
- synchronizing or contrasting text, images, and sound;
- emphasis upon form or content;
- staged scenes or use of natural situations;
- featuring individual characters or mass social action;
- directive interviewing or letting people speak for themselves;
- explication or allowing images to speak;
- pursuing unambiquity or admitting ambiquities;
- use of open endings or closed conclusions in the film.

These kinds of dilemmas delimit a field of many possibilities for action. Many a strategic choice implies that these dilemmas can be resolved. The development of media projects shows, nonetheless, that it is impossible to avoid the collision of cultural practices involved in work on activation films. In general terms, rules of action can be arranged in two ideal-typical styles in which this cultural conflict results. These are the 'amareurist process film', which was dominant in the early period of the film and video movement and which emphasized co-operation and the "professional product film", which has recently become dominant and in which co-operation is reduced to the necessary minimum.

In the first of these production styles there is always some degree of delegation of responsibilities, tasks and skills, and in the most extreme case the film group limits itself to the provision of support. Decisions about questions of form and content are, in so far as is possible, placed in the hands of the clients. In this style the cultural collision is at best transformed into a problem of selection and self-selection. This concept "works" only when the target group can cope with this situation. A group of elderly tenants may see little in having to do everything themselves.

The style of the "professional product film" is based upon the division of tasks and responsibilities. The client group operates here in the role of an interested party which gives the green light to the filmers following a more or less extensive discussion about content. Production and visual form are the responsibility of the film makers. Just as is the case in the first style, there is here also a chance that the goal will not be achieved, in the sense that the initial agreement about content is distorted in the imagery of the film or is no longer recognizable for the target group.

Even when the goal is achieved, and both the client group and the audience are satisfied, this does not mean that cultural collision has been avoided. Success may entail nothing more than that a specific imagery is dominant and has successfully imposed itself. It is exactly this success which poses a threat to the aesthetic development of media projects (cf. Heys, 1984, p. 42). Problems and conflicts concerning film imagery are not only manifest between target groups and film makers, but involve internal repercussions.

The production of activation films does not take place in a social vacuum. It is obvious that film traditions play an important role in the development of the work of media projects. In the following section we will discuss two specific influences which affect and shape this work through their mutual obstruction and reinforcement. These influences are the documentary tradition and public television.

## 3. The documentary tradition

The documentary tradition involves a reservoir of rules, norms, examples and debates. These involve questions such as how to film, how to edit, the use of the final results, how to judge these and to tell them apart from other similar genres (Rotha, 1952, pp. 70-71). This reservoir continues to be filled by those media projects which explicitly see themselves as being part of this tradition or which make use of it without realizing the fact (cf. Giddens, 1979, p. 57).

Of some importance here is the school of Cinema-verité, which developed during the 1950s in the United States and France. Cinema-verité representativer opposed the conventions of realism which were dominant in the work of the makers of ethnographic documentaries such as Flaherty (cf. Barnouw, 1983, pp. 33 f(f)). The latter carefully staged the reality of the struggle of mankind against nature but portrayed the scene as if it were a chance meeting. "Cinema-verité" went back to the work of the Russian filmer Dziga Vertov who was opposed to the practice of manipulating reality in front of the camera while simultaneously mystifying the reality of camera activity itselt (cf. De Greef, 1981).

The development of "Cinema-verité" is also associated with technical innovations, for instance the availability of light-weight 16 mm cameras and the improvement of sound recording equipment (Synchronization). It became possible to work with smaller film-crews and mobility has increased (Barnouw, 1983, p. 231). In this connection there has been mention of the caméra-stylo (Monaco, 1983, p. 267) in reference to film makers, who, like journalists, went into the streets in search of a reality whose extremities were now within range. These new possibilities stimulated experiment with the documentary form. Here truthfulness was absolutely central (cf. Vaughan, 1978, p. 22.). The possibility of synchronous sound was favourable to the "discovered story or noise", the interview, and the "talking heads" rather than the "voice-over" commentary which had been previously dominant. The wish to capture reality in its naked moments led to large quantities of material and an emphasis upon editing. In this there was an avoidance of the streamlining of heterogeneous happenings on film. The camera, the microphone and open questions were used as catalysts. The fundamental philosophy was that people were more prepared to be open in front of the camera than otherwise (cf. Barnouw, 1983, pp. 253, 262).

A great number of the elements of "Cinema-verité" can be found in the work of media projects. This certainly applies to the search for the ordinary, and often under-exposed and repressed, aspects of life, which is a more general objective in the documentary tradition (cf. Rotha, 1952, p. 113). Another product of this school is the rejection of staged scenes or the homogenization of everyday life in the interests of dramatic effects and the consistency of the film. The desire to make explicit the active contribution of the camera in the constitution of the film's reality is derived from this school. "Cinema-verité" is of particular importance for the development of the production style of the "professional product film".

## 4. The public television

Documentary practice has become closely related to public television. Elements of the "Cinema-verité" originally played an important role in the production of television documentaries. Vaughan (1978, p. 14 f(f)) has come to the conclusion that the television documentary has become a mannerism in England during the 1970s after a period of experimentation. Each Hesitation in an interview or the unfolding of a story is routinely cut and all ambivalence removed. The viewer must not be allowed to loose his way. Many film and video projects distance themselves from this mechanical practice. In the past, the awareness of uniformity, inaccessibility, and manipulative effects of the mass media provided the background to the emergence of alternative media projects (cf. Rosenthal, 1980, p. 11; Heys, 1984, p. 19). A somewhat different position in now adopted in this respect. As a producer of audio-visual entertainment television has achieved a place in "popular culture" which cannot be ignored. Opposition to the practices of official television among the media projects has lost its massive character. In addition to a cautious ideological re-evalution, there is also a functional use of television. Television is a source of story lines, games, humour, and drama, all of these being elements which are increasingly used by video projects. These elements do not directly correspond to, and are often in conflict with, the principles of "Cinema-verité". The traditions within which media projects develop are far from being unequivocal.

The importance of television is not restricted to a positive or negative point of reference for the development of their own film style or for a different organization of the process of producing films. The standard programming of television has led to the establishment of a relatively stable pattern of expectations with regard to the form and content of audio-visual programmes. Sport, series, films, quiz-games, and the news are all brought with much alternation and the necessary speed. These kinds of standard expectations play a role in the relationships between media projects, client and target groups, for example, when the 'clarity' or the 'boring' nature of films is concerned. Although film makers in media projects are most likely to adopt a somewhat different position in these matters than the other participants, this does not necessarily lead to conflict between the various parties concerned. As a producer of its own programmes and as a distributor of films and documentaries, public television constantly sets the norms for the quality of work in alternative media projects. It establishes the standards for measuring their own professionalism as filmers and strengthens tendencies towards the autonomy of filmers as professionals.

## 5. System of Production

The action of workers in media projects is related to the cultural traditions of the practices of the documentary and the television. "Cinema-verité" forms a system of rules that film makers can make use of. Rather than being indicative of a type of film, this name stands for a specific system of production in which the film is not an artifice but arises from the raw materials of reality ifself. In the foregoing we have sketched the technical developments which make this system of production possible, for example, the availability of equipment for use'in the field'.

The production of films demands a technical infrastructure, system of production, and a broadcasting system etc. These can be considered as institutionalized rule-systems in the terms of our research (cf. De Vries, 1977, p. 83). When we wish to include the societal functions of film practice in the research, it is necessary to question what these rule-systems include and exclude.

In this regard the "structure of qualifications" present in a project functions as a "filter". It make a lot of difference whether trained welfare workers, committed filmers or spokesmen of the labour movement have initiated the work of a media project. However much importance may be attached to openness, it appears that each form of project organization is characterized by specific possibilities as well as by inherent limitations, for example, the accessibility for cultural minorities, or the elderly. The rules by means of which institutions translate social problems and make them manageable have to be reconstructed. To this end an analysis of institutionalized forms for the production of programmes is necessary. The way in which public television operates exerts a dominant influence upon the methods of production. Despite the fact that television is, in more than one respect, a rival for media projects it has recently contributed, to greater degree in England than in the Netherlands, to an expansion of the limited distribution possibilities for alternative film and video projecten. Channel 4 is of great importance in this regard in England. This is a television channel which was given the special task of paying attention to educational and cultural programmes and the interests of specific groups and minorities. Channel 4 does not itself produce programmes but commissions its programmes from outside, among others, from the alternative film and video groups. Although only a small percentage of the total budget goes to these groups, this is for them a relatively large amount. Public television is in this respect an important client and distributor. In the Netherlands the broadcasting associations only work incidentally with alternative film and video projects.

Co-operation with the public broadcasting system has a number of consequences. The additional financial resources can be devoted to improving the quality of the technical equipment and that of the productions themselves. The programmes reach, furthermore, a much broader audience. On the other hand, there is less room for participation of those immediately involved in the theme. Existing contacts in a neighbourhood, or with a social movement, acquire new functions in the sense that they are used as the "working capital" in the interest of making productions for television. The power of decision of those involved over the process of production or the end result is of secondary importance. Work for public television encourages, furthermore, a selection of themes and an approach which is more concerned with general areas of interest rather than local or sectional interests.

Public television influences not only the internal structure of media projects, for example in the form of reinforcing tendencies towards professionalization and a modification of their relations with specific local or political contexts. The same influence changes the structure of the alternative media practice as a specific field of work. The financial and publicity opportunities provided by television appear to bring about a division of the field into three types of alternative film and video projects. There are, in the first place, the neighbourhood related projects, which are part of some welfare provision. Secondly, there are the independent projects with a relatively stable relationship with local community groups and, to an increasing degree, with political groups and social movements. Both of these types are based upon participation and possess few financial resources (Iaphording, 1984, p. 16). There are, thirdly, projects which produce what are essentially professional productions for distribution through public television and which have few contacts with the local context.

In view of the innovation of the supply of audiovisual productions public television, among others, makes use of the contribution of alternative media projects, which are characterized by more than superficial relations with local communities and a different style of production. For the time being integration of a prt of the media projects in the field of public television appears paradoxically to put those local bonds under pressure.

## 6. Crisis and renewal

Developments in the practice of media projects acquire their particular form in the broader socio-historical context. This is not without significance and cultural basis of the film and video movement. For the democratization movement the tide has turned. The policy of promoting the consultation and participation of groups of the population in political decision-making and the planning of their social and physical environment has been repressed by the influence of the economic crisis. The welfare state is in retreat and deregulation is the new creed (Van Gent, 1986, pp. 5, 20).[3] Welfare work is reduced to crisis management and can, to a large degree, be exchanged for self-help and "*the personal responsibility of the citizen and society itself*", as this was expressed by the under-Secretary of State, De Graaf (1983, p. 14). There are other reasons which explain why the stimutation of participation offers fewer perspectives for media projects. Rather than providing the basis for social change, the old urban neighbourhoods, with their inadquate distribution of housing, slum conditions, lack of safety, rapid changes of accommodation, and modifications to the social and ethnic composition of the population, have become the meeting-place of the economic and the politico-ideological crisis. The optimistic neighbourhood ideology of the 1970s, with its emphasis upon the possibilities of social change, has made way for the persistent lack of a perspective upon the problem of the "inner cities" (Harrison, 1983), and "solutions" such as racism and vigilantes. Welfare work at local level is undermined by, on the one hand, the economic cuts, and, on the other hand, its impotence in the face of growing local conflicts and problems. For many media projects this entails a fundamental attack upon the institutional context within which they have developed and function.

Economic crisis and the dismanteling of the welfare state are accompained by fundamental changes in the ideological constellation within which media projects carry out their work. Of some importance here is what is sometimes called the 'crisis of Marxism'(Althusser, 1978, p. 204). The marxist tradition, in its many forms, has long functioned as a source of inspiration for a diversity of oppositional movements, and has not least influenced and organized intellectual and cultural elites. With regard to film practice one does not have to only look back to the Soviet Union in the 1920s (Eisenstein, Vertov), there are more recent examples closer to home (Ivens, Godard). This inspiring role of Marxism now appears to be exhausted. This can, in the first place, be seen in relation to the political and ideological developments in the socialist countries. Furthermore there has been a development of the theoretical insight in the relative autonomy of the ideological superstructure in relation to the economic base. Institutions such as the arts and sciences are not automatically compliant. This insight brings with it the political implication of the claiming of independence by artists and intellectuals within and in relation to parties. This claim has led in diverse historical moments to open and underground conflicts (cf. Anderson, 1979, p. 29 f(f)).

The crisis of marxism is not only a question of the crisis of a theory, but above all of the erosion of a political ideology which cannot formulate adequate answers to societal problems (cf. Giddens, 1985, p. 123). Social developments in the western welfare states have led to a sharpened focus upon problems such as rascism and the repression of women. Marxist schemes are only partly relevant to these questions. These kinds of problems have given rise to the emergence of a number of new social movements alongside the labour movement and the political parties (Harmsen 1983; van Gent, 1986,p.18). The women's movement, youth protest, anti-racism, and the environmental movement produce new themes, such as the relationships between the sexes, generations, races, and between mankind and nature. Particularly these kinds of new movements make use of alternative media projects or establish them themselves, this in contrast to the labour movement and its organizations, (Wade, 1980, p. 12; Braden, 1983, p. 45 ff) or of political parties (Downing, 1984. p. 22). This does not seem so necessary for the political parties for the important reason that the political parties, and the 'old' social movements, have been able to establish their interests in the field of public communication. In the Netherlands, the public broadcasting system is the ideological product of the 'old' social movements (Van Gent, 1986, p. 13). The alternative media practices have partly arisen in opposition to this system. It is significant that these projects develop coalitions with precisely the new social movements. These generally have no direct political equivalent in the parliamentary system and are dependent upon other forms of public communication (Fortuyn, 1983, p. 35). They have a stronger cultural orientation and often a more flexible organizational structure than the trade unions and the political parties. Lastly the latter have neglected the neighbourhood and community levels which are precisely the levels at which an important part of the alternative media projects has developed (Rowbotham, 1981, 163 ff).

The emergence of new social movements has in this manner also contributed to the complexity of the ideological constellation in which alternative media projects function (cf. Harmen, 1983, p. 210). These movements have given a strong impulse to the discussion about the identity and direction of development of media projects. Content, form, and the use of audio-visual programmes are more than ever at stake in the struggle of different cultural pratices. This development has led to a degree of differentation in the relations between media projects and specific target groups. There are film projects working especially with women, teen-age girls, ethnic minorities, and squatters. Among the themes which the new social movements have often successfully brought to public attention there is no longer a primary concern with the distribution of economic or social certainty (cf. Kunneman, 1984, p. 151). They are more concerned with establishing or strengthening of cultural identities in opposition to the social processes of discrimination, exclusion, and repression. The search for interrelationships and common themes receives no priority and runs up against problems with the result that the identified differentiation of media projects concerning target groups implies one of corresponding themes. For the neighbourhood-based media projects the effective integration of the work for different groups with different backgrounds has become increasingly problematic.

Due to the emphasis of many new social movements, such as ethnic movements, the women's movement, and forms of youth protest, upon their own cultural identity or autonomy, the development of their own 'language of forms' and approach have been given extra attention. Sources of inspiration in this regard are both the arts and entertainment. In many media projects there is an emphasis upon developing film as an autonomous reality and to distance themselves from spreading the word or preaching. The recognition of the independent importance of research into film-form is traditionally associated with the danger that film practice turns in upon itself and becomes elitist. The orientation to humour, games, story and enjoyment, as found in television series (cf. Ang, 1982), provides possible counterweights.

## 7. Conclusion

Not only the economic crisis, but above all growing independence of many video and film projects with regard to welfare work and local communities, together with the emphasis upon professional qualities in the films, and the turn to a more culturalist problematic promoted by tight bonds with new social movements, have made these projects ripe for integration in the public broadcasting system. In England, for example this takes the form of their integration in the margins of mass media, while the price, which has to be paid, is the threat of looser relationships with social movements. A video project may then become a group of freelancers . Their contribution to the politics of public communication of social movements would then become largely dependent upon the commissions and programming of the public television system. Downing

(1984, p. 360) places his hope in 'autonomous media' which would be capable of stimulating the current stalemate in the debate between different social movements, and with parts of the political structure. Although one may conclude that film and video projects have played an important role in the growth of the new social movements, there is a danger, on the one hand, that autonomous media will be swallowed-up in the official mass media, while, on the other hand, their one-sided involvement with specific movements makes their being able to perform a function in bringing about coalitions an illusion.

Public communication is not simply a question of making public and getting known (Van der Haak, 1978), but is the result of social forces, both from the top and from the grassroots, which embody different representations of social problems.

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## Notes

1. The first text: 'Grass-roots public communication 1, audio-visual communication as a mediating practice' is also to be presented at the symposium.
2. Whenever in this text there is mention of 'films', video's are also implied.
3. This text to which we refer on several occasions is also to be presented at the symposium.

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# VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

A Case-study of the Development of the Institute for Workers' Education and the Dutch Institute for Popular Adult Education and the Friends of Nature, 1924-1986.

by Barry J. Hake

## 1. Introduction

Voluntary action and voluntary organizations are not new phenomena in the field of adult education. The international literature is replete with references to the important contributions made by a wide variety of voluntary organizations in the provision of adult education. These voluntary organizations often have a long history which is frequently told in terms of their gradual development towards their present forms as recognized and subsidized providers of adult education alongside public agencies. Although these voluntary organizations may today employ paid workers they were dependent in their early history upon the unpaid efforts of wellintentioned volunteers. Historical accounts of the organizations and methods employed in adult education are frequently formulated in terms of the contribution of these volunteers to current practice in both the public and voluntary sectors. Many of those engaged in voluntary action in the past were also involved in more broadly based social movements which were based upon the struggle for emancipation by specific social groups or organized around the cause of social reform. Such social movements feature very significantly in historical studies of the development of adult education in most countries. These studies are often formulated in terms of the development of mutual education within social movements into voluntary organizations for the provision of adult education among the general constituency of the movement. The institutionalized organization of 'social movement education'[1] and the emergence of voluntary organizations are often brought into conjunction in terms of the voluntary basis of the 'adult education movement' in national studies of the development of adult education. This perspective is not limited to the history of adult education. The current field of adult education is characterized by the emergence of new voluntary initiatives, voluntary organizations and social movements which challenge the existing provision of adult education by established voluntary organizations and public agencies. These emergent forms of voluntary action seek, on the one hand, to achieve recognition for their activities and secure public subsidies, or, on the other hand, to resist the efforts of governments to integrate their work in some form of partnership between voluntary organizations and public agencies. In the Dutch context a number of other contributors to this volume make reference to, and provide examples of, the historical and current manifestations of voluntary organizations and social movements in the development of adult education and related areas of social and cultural welfare provision in the Netherlands. Van Gent[2] devotes specific attention to the particular historical manifestations of the complex relationships between public agencies, voluntary associations and social movements in the general development of the organized provision of adult educations and information. A number of the Hungarian contributors to the volume are likewise concerned with the historical and current manifestations of voluntary action particularly in the field of adult education.

This paper is intended to provide a 'case-study' of the development of adult education provision in terms of the historical and current tensions between the forces of public service, voluntary organization and social movements in the Netherlands. The selected 'case' is the Institute for Workers' Education which is now known as the Dutch Institute for Popular Adult Education and the Friends of Nature. This case-study is one of a number of studies undertaken in the framework of a long-term research project at the University of Leiden which is concerned with the contribution of social movements to the development of adult education in the Netherlands. Following a brief discussion of terminological questions, the paper examines the historical development of the Institute for Workers' Education from 1924 up the the present day. Section three discusses the origins of the Institute in relation to the organized working-class movement in the Netherlands. In section four attention is turned to the transformation of the Institute for Workers' Education from an organization for social movement education into an autonomous cultural organization with increasingly tenuous links with the political and economic organizations of the working-class movement. The following section traces the development of the Institute as a voluntary organization providing adult education for its own members. In section six the recent influence of new social movements upon the work of this voluntary organization is discussed. The concluding section seeks to formulate a number of questions which support a critical perspective on the potential of voluntary organizations in the provision of adult education.

## 2. Voluntary Organizations, Mutual Aid and Social Movements

Defining concepts in the field of adult education is notoriously difficult. The successful encapsulation of any central concept is almost immediately followed by the reassertion of uncertainty with regard to key terms. This is particularly the case with regard to the term 'voluntary organization' which has a tendency to become all things to all men. Many of the problems of definition are bedeviled by the use the 'common sense' notions which are employed by policy-makers and practitioners in defining the problems to be solved by voluntary organizations. Such definitions are notable for their reductionist tendencies which concentrate on specific characteristics at the expense of others and are adopted in the dominant discourse of public policy. The rhetoric of 'voluntary organization' may almost be said to have its own momentum which confuses the search for clarity. The primary feature of an attempt to conceptualize 'voluntary organization' must be related to a wider discussion of social institutions, voluntary association, and the phenomenon of collective behaviour.[3] The term 'voluntary organization' is often used interchangeably with related terms such as 'group', 'association', 'pressure group' and 'social movement'.

The literature suggests that a basic distinction must first of all be made between 'voluntary work' and 'voluntary organization'. As Johnson points out

> Voluntary workers, who may work for statutory authorities, are simply defined as unpaid workers, whereas a voluntary organization, which may employ paid, professional workers, is most simply defined as a non-statutory organization.[4]

This definition requires some clarification of the terms 'statutory authority' and 'non-statutory organization'. In many countries, for example, England, the Netherlands, Scandanavia, and the United States, the provision of adult education as a public service is in the hands of various forms of co-operation between statutory and non-statutory organizations. Legislation in the field of adult education may bring statutory public agencies into existence which are required to provide basic services. Legislation may, however, also recognize specific voluntary organizations as providers of legally required services for the population, although these organizations are non statutory in the sense that they are not brought into existence by legislation. These legally recognized voluntary organizations receive public subsidies to carry out their work, these funds being mainly used to pay the salaries of paid, professional employees. In terms of Murray's[5] simple classification, these publicy funded voluntary organizations may be viewed as 'service-providing organizations' whose main characteristic is the relationship between the professional workers and the clients; the providers and receivers of services are two distinct groups.

Many voluntary organizations are, however, not primarily involved in the provision of services but are more concerned with the creation of a favourable climate of public opinion on behalf of some cause and efforts to influence government policy. The term 'pressure group' is generally employed to define this form of voluntary organization. In the literature both the service-providing and pressure group forms of voluntary organizations are 'associational groups' or formally organized purpose-rational voluntary associations. These voluntary associations range from those that hardly ever, if at all, engage in pressure-group activities to those by which such pressure is seen as the major or sole function.[6] Among those voluntary organizations concerned with exerting pressure upon public opinion or government, there is a concern with relationships which go beyond the confines of the organization and its members and/or clients. In their bargaining and negotiating postures pressure group activities are directed towards the media and decision-making bodies. A common way of classfying pressure groups is to divide them into 'sectional' or 'interest' groups, which are voluntary associatons set up to protect shared sectional interests, and 'attitude' or 'promotional' associations which seek to achieve a limited objective or cause defined in terms of shared attitudes rather than common interests.[7] In the history of adult education the pressure group activities of voluntary organizations have been associated with those organizations involved in the provision of services or promoting a particular cause for social reform. Recent developments related to the crisis of the welfare state, have, however, led to an increasing number of voluntary associations among the client groups of the public services and service-providing voluntary organizations.[8]

The emergence of pressure group activities among client groups does not exhaust the historical forms of voluntary organization among those sharing some common identity or collective sense of their aspirations. The recent emergence of self-help groups in the margins of the welfare state and service provision is generally regarded as a significant new phenomenon which points to important malfunctions in the provision of services for specific social groups.[9] A brief glance at the history of adult education suggests, however, that mutual help is a form of voluntary organization with deep roots in society. The core characteristic of self-help is the relationship between members who share social, cultural, physical or mental disability or who share a common problem or need, and who seek to deal with their common concerns through mutual aid rather than dependence upon others.[10] In contrast to service-providing public agencies and voluntary organizations there is no sharp distinction between providers and receivers of services in the organization of mutual support. The so-called 'self-help movement' in the general field of welfare provision shares many characteristics in common with the early history of the 'adult education movement' in many countries. The literature suggests that self-help groups and mutual aid organizations are characterized by their expressive functions for the participants and their restricted accessibility.[11] In contrast with the purpose-rational voluntary organizations with instrumental purposes, the social organizations for mutual support perform a function for the participants through the organization of activities confined and self-contained within the organization itself, and which reinforce the common status-definition of the criteria restricting membership.[12]

The general sociological literature and the body of historical work on the development of adult education provide substantial evidence supporting the relationships between high degrees of participation in voluntary associations, such as educational and recreational associations, and the development of social movements. The same literature suggests, in contrast to the assertions of the proponents of mass society theory that mass movements arise from the decline of voluntary associations, that there are close links between involvement in associational groups, particularly those concerned with sectional interests and the promotion of social causes, and the historical emergence of participation in the reformist and radical agitations of social movements.[13] In historical studies of adult education it is often difficult to distinguish between the specific contributions of voluntary associations and social movements to the development of contemporary forms of provision. The use of the term 'adult education movement' in national histories of adult education contributes to such confusion in that there is often a failure to analyse the multi-dimensional character of reformist and radical agitations by social movements and their sources in diverse associational groups. Social movements arise from a diverse array of often overlapping and interconnected commitments to change in society which are expressed in the often diverse and conflicting aims of numerous voluntary associations. Many voluntary associations are, however, not related to social movements in any real sense. Many voluntary associations do not involve a commitment to social change and the creation of the appropriate normative commitments to such change.[14] They do not seek or welcome participation by the rank and file members and the day-to-day management is left entirely to a managing board or committee. On the other hand, many secular social movements have in time developed into purpose-rational voluntary organizations, while many erstwhile extra-parliamentary social movements have been transformed into pressure groups if not 'institutional' organizations sharing in the exercise of political power.[15] Voluntary associations may, however, reassume the dimension of social movement in that, in particular historical conditions, they reassert the demand for normative commitment to change and more active participation by rank-and-file members in pursuit of social change.

The foregoing discussion of some of the complexities associated with the use of the term 'voluntary organization' in the social welfare field, and adult education in particular, suggests that voluntary organizations can be best studies as specific historical manifestations of collective social action. Voluntary organizations can then be examined in relation to other forms of collective social action in the form of pressure groups, self-help groups or mutual aid organizations, and social movements. The historical variation in manifestations of collective social action is of particular importance when attention is turned to the arguments on behalf of voluntary organizations that they are particularly instrumental in uncovering new needs and methods. Any discussion of the historical and current role of all manifestations of voluntary and collective social action must direct attention to the pioneering role claimed for voluntary organizations.

## 3. Adult Education and the Working-Class Movement, 1890-1924

Early attempts to organize independent adult education within the Dutch labour movement found their roots in the radical mobilizations initiated by socialist organizations and the women's movement in the Netherlands in the period between 1890 and 1925.[16] Issues central to the working-class campaigns in this period provided the focal point for the organization of educational activities for adults which possessed a strong political and agitational content. Educational activities developed by the socialist parties, the trade unions and the women's movement were closely related to the popular politics of these organized movements. Political knowledge and skills were learned in the practice of agitation in the socialist cause, communication skills were developed in propaganda work, while local discussion and study circles were organized around issues concerning working men and women. The educational activities organized by these movements for their constituencies among the working people of the Netherlands represented an alternative to the sponsored forms of adult education which had up to then been provided for the working class by the voluntary efforts of ecclesiastical, philanthropic and humanitarian agencies. The first attempts to establish the independent provision of adult education by the working-class movement can be traced to the turn of the century and the the local organization of debating evenings within the Social Democratic Workers' Party (S.D.A.P.). These debating evenings comprised a talk or series of viewpoints being presented in relation to a specific topic, and presentations being followed by debate. There was an emphasis upon theoretical schooling, with topics such as "*the history of the German social democratic movement*" being introduced by leading figures in the movement.

This stress upon theoretical and ideological schooling of potential local activists was less pronounced in the adult educational activities promoted by the Committee for Social Work which was established in 1902 by the General Dutch Union of Diamond Workers in Amsterdam. The major concern here was the general intellectual and cultural development of the working class, and was expressed in the form of organized activities such as public lectures, continuation education, creative activities, lending library work, and the organization of educational excursions. A major development took place in 1910 with the creation in Amsterdam of a Central Committee for Workers' Education which was intended to co-ordinate the educational activities of the local S.D.A.P. and the trade unions. The task of the Central Committe was "...*to provide for the needs of adult workers for information and education*" the activities organized being intended to "...*contribute generally to the strengthening of class consciousness among organized workers in the trade unions and Social Democratic Workers' Party, and more specifically to form a cadre of well trained activists who can serve the many forms of the workers' movement in diverse ways*".[17] The practical activities sponsored by the Central Committee can be divided into three main categories:

- those intended for the mass of working people which included popular lectures, festive activities, and musical and dramatic activities;
- those intended for more developed workers and including study circles, debating evenings, and courses in correspondence and administration;
- those intended for the cadre of local activists.

This pattern established by the Central Committee in Amsterdam provided the organizational for the further development of workers' education throughout the Netherlands.

The need for a national organizational concerned with workers' education was first expressed in 1914 by the social trade unions and found support in the S.D.A.P. in 1917. In 1919 a Committee for Workers' Education was established in Amsterdam, while in the same year plans were announced within the S.D.A.P. for the development of local Councils for Adult Education throughout the Netherlands and the party programme made reference to the need to stimulate popular adult education by means of public libraries, museums, lectures, dramatic and musical activities, and sport. The arguments for some kind of national organization were renewed in 1920 an subsequent years with motions being put before the annual meetings fo the trade unions. In 1923 the S.D.A.P. added its support to a trade union proposal to investigate the financial basis for a national institute for workers' education. This resulted in the creation of a joint Committee on Workers' Education, which presented its report early in 1924. The report[18] proposed the establishment of a national organization which would integrate locally organized activities in a federal structure. In its report the Committee on Workers' Education distinguished between five different forms of adult educational activities:

- popular talks and lectures on topics ranging from hygiene and housing to natural sciences and technology;
- educational excursions and travel;
- study circles and debating clubs;
- centrally organized short courses for local activists;
- long-term courses for cadre in a residential college.

These diverse activities were regarded as being appropriate to the needs of three distinct groups among the working-class constituency, and were very reminiscent of the ideas expressed by the Central Committee in Amsterdam in 1910. These three groups were:

- the large majority of working people who should be helped to use their growing leisure in mutual and self-improvement;
- those who were seriously interested in the in-depth study of a particular subject;
- the hard-core of local activists who required a thorough schooling in both the theory of the labour movement and the practical skills of organization and agitation.

The report was accepted by the trade unions and the S.D.A.P. with little debate, and the Institute for Workers' Education (Instituut voor Arbeidersontwikkeling) came into existence on 11th November, 1924.

Although the 1924 Report on Workers' Education adopted the already established distinction between adult educational activities for the general membership and the need for specialist schooling for the active cadre, the emphasis placed by the committee upon the former activities was to have untold consequences for the future development of the new national Institute for Workers' Education.[19] As the central organization for the support of local activities the Institute developed an ambitious programme of activities including the production of publications in support of workers' education, the development of teaching materials for local use, the organization of correspondence courses, a film distribution service, the administration of travelling exhibitions, and the management of travel and holiday activities. The local branches of the Institute were responsible for the organization of adult activities which were open to individual members who were paid-up members of the S.D.A.P. and the trade unions. The bulk of these local activities were organized in the form of study and reading circles, debating clubs, film-evenings, groups based upon the correspondence courses of the Institute, together with more festive activities.[20] Much was made in the work of the Institute of the introduction of the eighthour working-day, helping workers to make constructive use of their leisure, and the need to protect workers from the emerging entertainment industries which could exploit their lack of cultural development.

## 4. From Movement Organization to Autonmous Association

While the Committe on Workers' Education had brought together the experience of the previous thirty years of workers' education in its proposals for a national organization, it introduced a new emphasis upon the workers' movement as a cultural as well as a political and economic movement. The stress upon the working-class movement as a cultural movement was expressed most clearly in the two chapters of the report which were devoted to the encouragement of reading, and the stimulation of the musical, dramatic, and visual arts among the working class. The report stated that

> The working-class movement will need, on the road towards a new culture, to awaken interest for the higher enjoyments and bring the spiritual life of our class into flower.[21]

While the expression of these ideas was found in the organization of dramatic clubs, choral societies, concerts and exhibitions, there was an increasing emphasis upon encouraging a communal spirit among the mass membership. In his classic study of workers' educational movements, Hansome noted the important role played by mass celebrations and festivities in efforts to encourage communal feelings and social bonds in labour movement. He observed that

> Continental labor leaders have perceived the social significance of labor ceremonials, sprechöre, festivities, theatricals, choral societies, sports and recreational events under labor auspices. Such events are agencies which conduce to morale, group loyality, solidarity, enthusiasm.[22]

Particularly worthy of note in the Dutch movement was the organization of Sunday morning meetings which demonstrated many resemblances to, and were indeed consciously based upon, the Labour Church in nineteenth century England. This rather quixotic aspect of the English working-class movement was well known to some in the emergent cultural socialist movement in the Netherlands. Sunday morning meetings enjoyed some measure of popularity among the local branches of the Institute for Workers' Education. In 1927 such meetings were regularly organized by 43 of the 89 local branches belonging to the Institute.[23] An interesting contemporary commentary upon the intentions of the new Institute may be gleaned from a report by the Chairman of the Union of Dutch Popular Universities of discussion held with the two full-time staff members of the Institute in December 1924. In contrast to the emphasis placed by the Popular Universities upon intellectual development, he reported his impression that

> What they wish to bring to the working men in the S.D.A.P. is not that which can be achieved with organizing a course of study. Mr. Vorrink in particular was more or less sceptical, if not actually derisory, in this regard. What they wish to achieve is the transformation of the spirit, at first of the workers, but more properly of the whole of mankind, from individualism to collectivism.
>
> The communality of feeling thingking, and aspiration is their ideal. They openly declared that is was their opinion that this could not be achieved by the means known to Popular Universities. This became most obvious when they indicated the means they intend to use in order to kindle collective feelings e.g. festivals, processions, and youth meetings.[24]

The comparison with the exotic notion of the labour church no doubt escaped the speaker when he observed that

> What they propose can be most easily compared with the work of the religious denominations rather than that which any university, and most certainly the popular universities, wishes and is able to undertake.[25]

In the work of the new Institute a great deal of attention was devoted to the organization of educational excursions and travel. These represented forms of educational activity which were becoming increasingly influential in the socialist youth movement and stressed the encouragement of a sense of community through shared cultural activities and the encounter with nature. Emphasis upon harmony, the cultural quality of life, and the rediscovery of nature by city dwellers had long been an important element of the educational work of the Folk Houses in the Netherlands, and were not without their influence, together with the socialist youth movement, upon the development of the specific form given to the working-class movement as a cultural movement in the 1920s and the 1930s.

In its efforts to establish itself as an autonomous cultural dimension of the working-class movement, alongside the economic dimension found in the trade unions and the political dimension manifested in the S.D.A.P., the Institute for Workers' Education became closely related with the development of nature study and educational travel. For many in the Institute of Workers' Education, particularly those drawn into it from the socialist youth movement, the communal experience of nature came to represent the essential element in the education of a moral, sober, and collective way of life for the working class. The struggle against the misuse of alcohol was a not unimportant part of this perspective on cultural socialism. "The Friends of Nature" within the ranks of the Institute for Workers' Education had close links with the international movement "Die Naturfreunde" which had spread from its original base in Vienna in 1895 and by the mid-1920s enjoyed support among the working-class movements in many European countries, including Hungary in 1910, Australia and the United States. In the Netherlands the first organized foreign travel by workers had been organized by the Steel Workers Trade Union in 1912, while the Dutch Workers' Travel Association (Nederlandse Arbeiders Reis Vereniging) was created in 1921. The Dutch Workers' Travel Association established links with the international organization of "Naturfreunde", and the the term "The Friends of Nature" (De Natuurvrienden) was added to its title. Discussions between the Institute and the Association prevented the representation of the Dutch organizations at the inaugral meeting of the International Federation of Workers' Travel Associations in London in 1927, but led in the following year to their ingetration in the Institute for Workers' Education and the creation of a separate section of the Institute known as "The Friends of Nature".

While educational travel was intended to offer workers the opportunity of a holiday from home in the congenial company of their fellows, and at reasonable price, the Institute gave priority to these opportunities within the Netherlands rather than foreign travel. Its activities became centred upon the establishment of residential Nature Houses(natuurvriendenhuizen), camping sites, cycling holidays, excursions and study-trips devoted to a variety of topics concerned with nature-study. Winter activities in the local branches were largely concerned with weekly lectures, film evenings and discussions about a surprising range of subjects. Educational travel and the organized study of nature began to exert a growing influence upon the work of the Institute for Workers' Education and the local branches. In 1930 there were 72 organized holidays abroad and 4 within the Netherlands. Emphasis upon the need to encourage educational tourism and nature study within the Netherlands was determined by the desire to encourage all members of the Institute to participate in these activities regardless of their financial resources. This became manifest in the organization of day-trips by boat, bus and train cycling and walking, and the provision of cheap residential accommodation. In 1933 the 8 natuurvriendenhuizen and 2 camp-sites, the first natuurvriendenhuis having been built in 1928, were reorganised in a new Stichting Natuurvriendenhuizen en - Kampeerterreinen for administrative purposes. The work of the natuurvrienden exerted growing influence upon the activities of the local branches of the Institute. The annual report of 1934 suggested that "...all the Institute's members should become involved in the work of the Friends of Nature".[26] A Development Plan published by the Institute in 1936 argued that the winter clubs organized by the local branches should be concerned not only with "...the study of the earth, animal- and plant-life, but should also be directed to the architectural forms of farms, churches, and castles in the surrounding area; the history of their own town; sagas, legends and folklore".[27] The gradual transition in the activities of the Institute and the growing influence of nature study among the membership was clearly reflected in the numbers participating in the work of the natuurvrienden. While only 7.5 % of members had been involved in these activities in 1929, this increased to 35.9% in 1939. In the local branches the percentage of members involved in the activities of the Friends of Nature could be much higher, the figure for Amsterdam, for example, being as high as 69% in 1938.[28]

The development of the Institute for Workers' Education in the direction of a cultural socialism coloured by nature study and organized travel gave rise to growing signs of stress in its relationship with the trade unions and in particular, the S.D.A.P.[29] Criticism was expressed of the Institute's overriding concern with popular adult education rather than providing for the needs of the local trade union and party cadre. This led the unions and the party to establish their own organizations for cadre-training, these including the residential Troelstra House which was named after one of the major party leaders in the 1920s. Criticism of the declining socialist profile of the Institute's work and the unpolitical character of its concern with nature study even led one group of activists to leave the Institute in 1933 and the subsequent creation of an Association for Socialist Adult Education. In its search for independent status as the cultural arm of the working-class movement, the Institute faced not only growing criticism but a gradual loosening of its historical bonds with the unions and party. The Second World War sealed the fate of the Institute for Workers' education as an independent organization in finally severing its links with the other elements of the organized working-class movement. Following the occupation of the Netherlands by the Germans in 1940 the Institute for Workers' Education went into liquidation, and the natuurvriendenhuizen were taken over by the Dutch national-socialist party for the duration. With the re-establishment of the Institute in 1945 almost all its effective links with the trade unions and the social democratic party, now known as the Workers' Party- Partij van de Arbeid (P.v.D.A.) were finally severed. The gradual loosening of the ideological and organizational bonds between the Institute and the working-class movement during the 1930s led to its becoming an independent voluntary organization.

## 5. The Retreat into Voluntary Associationism, 1945-1970

In the immediate post-war period the Institute for Workers' Education was primarily concerned with re-establishing its organizational infrastructure, including the restoration of the natuurvriendenhuizen. Few new activities were developed and the Institute moved further along the path which had emerged during the 1930s. The increasing identity of the Institute with nature study and educational tourism, in addition to the weekly talks in the branches, reached its culmination in 1959 its name was changed to the Dutch Institute for Popular Education and Friends of Nature (Nederlandse Instituut voor Volksontwikkeling en Natuurvriendenwerk), or NIVON. The 1960s marked a period of consolidation which was launched in 1960 with the publication of a policy document with the title Renewal (Vernieuwing).[30] This document was significant for its pronouncement of personal development as the major objective of NIVON and the definitive break with the traditional commitment of the Institute for Workers' Education to intellectual development as well as cultural enrichment. The purpose of NIVON was formulated as

> ...promoting well-being by supporting efforts to integrate nature, technology and culture as a well-balanced whole in the lives of individuals and society. It wishes to contribute to the harmonious development of human personality in both its social and cultural aspects, which also involves that each individual becomes more aware of his diverse reponsibilities in society which must be developed into a well-knit community. It seeks to achieve these ends, while paying due respect to all philosophies of life, in terms of the ideal of a democratic-socialist society, based upon freedom, justice and community spirit.[31]

This image of a democratic socialist society based upon well-integrated individuals who were fired by their sense of responsibilities to the community continued to prove attractive to a hard-core of local activists who had been inculcated during the 1930s with the principles of cultural socialism in the socialist youth movement and the Institute for Workers' Education. While NIVON maintained its membership of around 40,000 organised in 100 local branches during the 1960s, the so-called "NIVON-families" of cultural socialists came to dominate its activities. These were families in which the parents found their ideas of a healthy socialist upbringing for their children and a sense of community for themselves in the protective sphere of the local branches and among the 'friends of nature'.

In contrast to the original commitment of the Institute of Workers' Education to the cultivation of a sense of socialist solidarity among the broad mass of the working-class constituency, NIVON became an increasingly introspective organization which was concerned with the organisation of activities for its regular membership. Rather than seeking to bring others into the circle of cultural socialism in the changed economic and ideological conditions of the prosperous 1960s, NIVON increasingly manifested the characteristics of a voluntary association with few proselytizing pretentions. This change was described in 1966 as a process in which

> ...the members regard their membership as evidence of their own emancipation, of their own need for and willingness to be emancipated, and in all events as representing something which positively distinguishes them from others... They recognize one another as members and on this basis develop a sense of social status, feelings of a priori solidarity, which find expression in all kinds of common symbols. In this phase membership is the natural form of participation in popular adult education.[32]

NIVON was no longer an organization within the broader working-class movement which sought the cultural emancipation of the workers. It increasingly took its place alongside the other voluntary organizations in the Netherlands which provided adult educational activities for their own membership. While the Institute for Workers' Education had been based upon the rejection of the popular adult education provided by voluntary associations such as the *Society for the Common Benefit(Maatschappij tot Nut van het Algemeen)* and Popular Universities, NIVON now entered upon a period of tentative co-operation with such organizations. The possibilities of co-operation between the NIVON, the Society for the Common Benefit and the Union of Dutch Popular Universities - Bond van Nederlandse Volksuniversiteiten were explored in a research report which was published in 1966. This report entitled *Popular Adult Education*

*Through Association (Volksontwikkeling in Verenigingsverband)*[33] was based upon a study of the *talk* (*lezing*) which was the most common andragogic method employed by all three associations in the work of their local branches. The report concentrated upon ways of improving the quality of these talks given by volunteers, and the three organizations developed co-operation in the field of providing expert support for the training of volunteer workers by appointing regional consultents. Discussion regarding further forms of co-operation, there even being suggestions of an amalgamation of the work of the tree voluntary associations, went no further than a commitment to engage in frequent consultations with one another.

## 6. *The Challenge of New Social Movements, 1970-1985*

Having severed its formst organizational links with the organized working-class movement and entered the ranks of the voluntary associations providing adult education for their members, NIVON was not at first fundamentally subjected to the influence of new forms of social and political criticism which became manifest during the late 1960s and early 1970s. In so far as the women's movement, the loose coalition of neighbourhood and community groups, and other forms of social action influenced the development of adult education during the 1970s, their activities by-passed the traditional voluntary associations which provided adult education for their own members. New forms for the local organization of adult education for disadvantaged social groups emerged, the women's movement established a rich variety of new organizational forms, and the emphasis was gradually directed towards the creation of an adult education service making provision for those with a limited educational background. The Union of Popular Universities was almost alone among the three major voluntary associations in responding to these new initiatives in the general field of adult education. NIVON continued to stress its traditional package of activities for its members which included the winter season of talks in the branches, the organization of excursions, and the management of educational tourism. New initiatives during the 1970s were closely related to the core interests of its members in the recreation and leisure-time activities, the care of the environment, and one national project was concerned with the impact of the report of the Club of Rome. Activities for the younger generation of the 'NIVON-families' was one area which witnessed a number of new initiatives, and was inspired, on the one hand, by the degree of social discontent among the younger generation in general, and, on the other hand, the 'grey-haired' image of NIVON and its ageing membership.

The manifestation of the so-called 'new social movements' during the late 1970s and the early 1980s has presented NIVON with a new challenge. Movements such as the peace movement, the environmental movement, and the anti-nuclear energy movements, among others, have emerged outside of the traditional social movements characteristic of capitalist society. In certain respects these movements have displayed a certain affinity with a number of the major concerns of NIVON with nature and its protection, and its commitment to the quality of life. Furthermore, these new social movements manifest a strongly cultural concern with the creation of new 'life-styles' and the individual's responsibility to share with others in creating a 'healthy' community. At the same time, however, the development of new forms of social opposition and their cultural manifestations has brought about a renewed concern within NIVON for its traditional claim to represent the cultural arm of the organized working-class movement. The influence of new social movements together with the reassessment of NIVON's relationships with the trade unions in particular has contributed, moreover, to a reconsideration of its very specific forms of provision of adult educational activities for its own members. In other words the influence of new and old social movements are making their influence felt in the protective sphere of the NIVON as a relatively closed voluntary association. These influences have led to a significant process of reflection in NIVON in the early 1980s and efforts to bring about renewal in the association. An examination of the typical activities of NIVON branches together with the work of national office, and the proposals contained in the plan of activities (werkplan) for the period 1984-1986 may provide some indications of the continuities and discontinuities which are manifest in the current state of NIVON.

At the level of the local branches there is a significant variation in the range of activities organized for the membership. The winter programme of a small branch, such as Beverwijk, may comprise four talks covering subjects ranging from foreign travel to the work of a local firm, and the occasional excursion. In a large urban centre such as Amsterdam, whose many branches form a local federation with its own newsletter, there is a far greater range of activities on offer to the members. The winter programme includes a number of courses ranging from English, Spanish, and Esperanto, through flower arranging and cookery, to a variety of handicraft and cookery classes. Numerous musical and choral activities are organized, while folk-dancing appears to be a highly popular activity and includes a special course in English folk-dances. One-off occasional lectures may deal with subjects such as the functions of the Dutch parliament, 6000 years of Chines art, South Africa, and various aspects of the plastic and visual arts. There is a variety of excursions including visits to the Post Office headquarters in Amsterdam, a sugar factory, the national theatre museum, and a water purification plant. The local section of the Friends of Nature announce a visit to a rural estate during which it is hoped that "...a number of beautiful toadstools will be observed". Members are able to take part in a number of residential activities most of which are organized in the natuurvriendenhuizen. Mention is made of a weekend in the Sauerland, a six-day Christmas camp, and short weekends organized qround popular holidays such as Saint Nicholas, New Year and Easter. Some special activities for young people receive mention, there is reference to a women's group with its own programme, while the problems involved in establishing a discussion group for men is given due attention. This image of the traditional activities of local branches must, however, be placed beside reports of activities more closely related to social and political action. Recent numbers of the NIVON monthly publication for members refer to activities connected with political opposition in Chili, opposition to inververtion by movement in the Netherlands, and opposition to the plans of the Dutch government to increase the number of nuclear power stations.

The activities of NIVON at the national level can be distilled from the monthly magazine for members Toorts. In addition to news regarding NIVON, for example meetings of the management committee and the general council of the association, notices from local branches, letters from members, the magazine devotes much space to the work of the central organizations of NIVON. Among these organizations is NIVON-Youth(NIVON-Jeugd), which organizes the activities for young people. Educational tourism demands a great deal of space, the magazine providing information about winter and summer holidays which are organized by NIVON-Travel(NIVON-Reizen). Most of these holidays are housed in nature houses abroad. The Stichting Natuurvriendenhuizen en -Kampeerterreinen - Nature Houses and Camp-sites - currently runs 15 houses, 15 camp-sites and a centre for watersports in the Netherlands. Run by a hard-core of 2000 volunteers this accommodation provides for holidays, field-work, and week-end residential courses organized by NIVON, while the Stichting has 1 1/2 paid administrative workers at its disposal. In 1985 the Stichting provided for 120,000 overnight stays in its accommodation. Worthy of mention is the Stichting G.W.Melchiors which was established in 1954 with the specific purpose of organizing holiday weekends for the over-65s. The general activities of NIVON are managed at the national level by a small number of paid staff who provide support for committees, the planning of national activities, and general co-ordination.

The work of the small central staff of NIVON in co-operation with the management committee can be best guaged by examining its role in the development of the plan of activities for the period 1984-1986. Reconsideration of the role of NIVON during the recent past was undoubtedly an initiative from the centre which sought to stimulate discussion at the local level in the federations and branches. The plan of activities for 1984-1986 represents a further development of the policy document Nivon in the 80s (Nivon in de Jaren '80') which was approved by the annual congress in 1980, and is the successor to the plan of activities 1981-1983. The 1980 congress voted in support of a policy devoted to the strenghtening of the voluntary cadre available to run the activities of the association, and the successive plans of activity are indicative of the priorities in the implementation of this policy. The most recent plan of activities makes clear that the need to improve the quality of the existing provision has led to a more fundamental reorientation in the work of NIVON. Reassessment of the political and cultural function of NIVON as a voluntary association and the character of its various activities provide the focal point for the current organization of efforts to develop voluntary cadre.

Central to the development of the voluntary cadre is the discussion within NIVON concerning the reassertion of its function as cultural platform for the other organizations in the working-class movement and establishing links with the newer social movements. As the plan of activities for 1984-1986 points out this is by no means an easy task on the grounds that

> This development brings a new question to the attention of the association as the cultural institution of the working-class movement. This concerns the relationship between the struggle of these movements and the forms of struggle they adopt, and the economic and political struggle of the organizations in working-class movement. The different forms of organization and ideas frequently clash. This is not least a conflict between the traditional and modern cultural manifestations of organization and struggle.[34]

The development of existing cadre and the recruitment of new cadre has been organized around a series of thematic meetings which are open to NIVON members and activists in related organizations. Organized on a regional basis these discussion groups for potential voluntary cadre have been concerned with themes such as "the struggle for peace", "culture and politics - the position of NIVON in the Dutch working-class movement", "NIVON and a critical cultural practice", "NIVON and the environmental problem", "social photography", and the problem of voluntary work. All these themes have been approached in terms of their economic and political aspects, a critical assessment of the cultural task of NIVON, and the implications for the existing cultural practices of the association.

The thematic approach to the development of voluntary cadre have been extended into the organization of activities throughout the association which are intended for the membership in the local branches. Once again the possible function of NIVON as a platform for the organized working-class movement and the new social movements provides the core of these "discussion projects' and a number of courses. Discussion projects have included those concerned with the "History and Future of the Working-class Movement", the relations between the working-class movement and the environmental movement, and a tentative discussion concerning the women's and the working-class movement, while other courses and activities at regional and local level have been concerned with the environmental problem, including a course on environmentally friendly waste disposal, the energy problem, and the peace movement. In all these areas NIVON has participated in national platforms concerned with special issues. A further aspect of the platform function deserving mention is the concern with the regeneration of May Day as a celebration for the whole of the organized working-class movement in the Netherlands. This redirects attention to the traditional role of socialist feasts in the cultural manifestation of the movement.

Two aspects of the recent programme require rather more detailed discussion. On the one hand, there is the very specific question of the role of women within NIVON. Elements of patriarchal gender relations have long been manifest in the men's world characteristic of NIVON as was also the case in the Institute for Workers' Education. The plan of activities for 1984-1986 suggests that

> The association can be described as an association of working-class families. As an implication of this viewpoint it must be noted that the norms and patterns of family life are carried over into the life of the association as a whole. Women are allocated the more "womenlike" tasks. Although exceptions are known, it is necessary to state that this is an indication of a dominant and conservative tendency.[35]

The exceptions mentioned in the plan of activities are located in current developments taking place in the women's groups which have been a distinctive feature of the association since the second world war. These women's groups have been concerned with the provision of information on various subjects, discussion groups, courses, and excursions. The influence of the women's movement has rather belatedly began to be felt in NIVON at national and local level, and the women's groups are now gradually becoming engaged in the social-cultural themes of the women's movement. One particular development is the emergence of special activities organized by and for women in the context of the work of the friends of nature. Discussion groups and weekend camps for women in NIVON have led the association to participate in the activities for women which are being organized by the Naturfreunde Internationale. A first international seminar held in 1985 was concerned with "The Role of Women in the Organisations of the Friends of Nature" and "Women and Health".

All voluntary organizations are faced with the problems of recruiting and training an adequate cadre in support of its activities. As indicated above the process of renewal within NIVON required an ambitious plan for the development of the cadre to assume new tasks, the problem of voluntary work was, furthermore, the theme of one of the training seminars organized to this end. For the support of local cadre NIVON is producing a manual which provides technical information on more mundane problems such as finances, publicity, and organizational procedures. Of greater general significance is the ongoing discussion within NIVON concerning the contemporary social significance of voluntary work. The changing character of voluntary work and the efforts of government to encourage it are the key points at issue. These questions are of particular interest to NIVON as a voluntary association, but have particular implications for the School for Volunteers(School voor Vrijwilligers). This school is a co-operative venture providing support for voluntary workers in the three major voluntary associations which are responsible for the provision of adult educational activities for their own membership. Voluntary work in these associations is representative of the traditional form of the volunteer who performs services during the hours of leisure which are available to him or her after having done a full day's work either outside of or in the home. This traditional voluntary work is now confronted with three new forms of volunteer whose efforts are organized in different ways. In the first place there are the voluntary efforts of those engaged in the new social movements and forms of social action. Secondly, there are the unemployed who become engaged in voluntary work as a substitute for paid employment and who are allowed to maintain their rights to unemployment benefit. Thirdly, there is an area of voluntary work which the government seeks to stimulate and organize as part of its cost-cutting strategy of moving the provision of certain services from the professional into the voluntary and by definition unpaid, sphere. In line with the position adopted by the trade unions, NIVON and the School for Volunteers reject the use of the term 'voluntary work' to describe all these voluntary activities outside of the sphere of paid labour. There is a clear preference for the use of the term 'unwaged labour' which makes it possible to demystify the cost-saving transfer of paid labour into the unwaged sphere and to highlight the efforts of governments to organize unwaged labour in its own interests. Both of there current tendencies in government intervention in the sphere of unwaged labour and its organization run counter to the traditional notion of voluntary work and voluntary associations which are independent of government control and direction. While the working-class movement necessarily seeks to protect the sphere of paid labour it is also concerned with the democratization of 'real' voluntary work as traditionally understood to those beyond the not found among volunteers, although this must not take place as a substitute for paid labour.

## 7. Conclusions

What can be made of the social history of one particular organization? The case-study of the Institute does not make it possible to arrive at any degree of generalization with regard to the historical development and sociological significance of the phenomena of collective voluntary action. There is a real danger that, in the complex and relatively researched field of voluntary action, the case-study will add yet another empirical study to the many already available in the literature of adult education. It is possible, however, to interpret a particular case-study in relation to theoretical, normative and empirical studies of voluntary action in its diverse manifestation. The case-study of the Institute for Workers' Education indicates some of the dangers associated with a historical typologies of voluntary action. In different periods the Institute has manifested characteristics variously associated with social movements, mutual-aid organizations, pressure groups, and voluntary associations. Although the Institute has from time to time engaged in co-operation with other voluntary organizations and received small subsidies from the public authorities, it has, however, not ssumed a place among the service-providing voluntary organizations and a dependence upon paid, professional workers. When the specific characteristics of the Institute in the different periods of its historical development are viewed in relation to empirical studies of other forms of voluntary action, it is possible to pose a number of critical questions with regard to the current desire of governments to move the provision of services from the public agencies into the sphere of voluntary associations.

The implications of current policies for cutting public services and encouraging voluntary organizations to fill the consequent gaps require the closest scrutiny. As the case-study makes clear the voluntary provision of adult education is characterized by its uneven geographical and social distribution [36] Even in areas where provision is extensive there is no guarantee of the quality of the activities provided by volunteer workers. It is possible that in some areas voluntary organizations could fill some of the gaps created by cuts in publicly-funded professional services, although the inescapable consequence could be a greater variation in the range, quantity and quality of the services available to local populations. Without the involvement of voluntary organizations in the planning of the provision of services there can, furthermore, be no guarantee that variation in provision will be related to variations in the needs of populations of the demand for adult education services. One way of resolving this problem is to involve voluntary organizations in the decision-making process at the local level. There are, nevertheless, significant problems associated with their involvement in decentralized welfare planning in the Netherlands. On the one hand, the involvement of voluntary organizations alongside public agencies in the planning process results in a blurring of the lines of political responsibility in a democratic society.[37] There is adequate evidence in the literature that many voluntary organizations are hardly accountable to public opinion and not even to their own membership. Accountability is one of the basic requirements of the democratic system and statutory agencies are accountable, in theory at least, to elected assemblies who are ultimately accountable to the electorate. This is far from being the case in regard to voluntary organizations where the elected leaders are responsible only to their own members.[38] Many voluntary organizations are, furthermore, unrepresentative of the groups whom they claim to speak for, while their leadership is self-appointed and self- perpetuating. Selznick's view of voluntary organizations has found much support in more research. He argued that

> ...they are manned by a small core of individuals - the administration, the local sub-leaders, a few faithful meeting-goers - around whom there fluctuates a loosely bound mass of dues-payers.[39]

On the other hand, the Dutch experience of local welfare planning supports the conclusion that the participation of voluntary organizations is far from being representative of all forms of voluntary action in the local community. To a large degree there is a heavy reliance upon the long-established service-providing voluntary organizations and the exclusion of newer and less organized forms of voluntary social action. The former organizations are those which employ paid, professional workers, while the evidence suggests that these professional employees are dominant in the local planning process.[40] This gives rise to a particular set of sectional interests being incorporated in the decision-making process. Where volunteers achieve some say in the local planning process this does little to effectively incorporate other interests than those of the volunteers themselves. Participation in voluntary organizations is a middle-class phenomenon which has important implications for the social distance between voluntary workers and client groups.[41] The least recognized and involved in local welfare planning are the organized groups of clients in either pressure groups or mutual aid organizations, while social movements have in the main rejected participation in local planning on the grounds that it involves incorporation in the extension of the powers of the state to organize the sphere of voluntary action in society.

An important feature of the current discussion concerning the transfer of the provision of services from public agencies into the voluntary sector is the need to compensate for cuts in public expenditure. This new arrangement of the statutory-voluntary relationship is frequently justified on the grounds that voluntary organizations possess the ability and freedom to pioneer new services and methods in relation to emerging needs in society.[42] The case-study of the Institute of Workers' Education supports other evidence that voluntary action is by no means a guarantee of innovation. During its history the Institute has been characterized by periods during which it was actively involved in pioneering new activities. In other periods, however, the Institute has been inward looking and unresponsive to social change beyond the confines of the organization. This suggests that, while the various manifestations of voluntary action can be sources of experiment and innovation, it should not be assumed that voluntary association is a guarantee of pioneering activities. Once an organization is established on the basis of a social movement or pressure group, it assumes a momentum of its own which can easily lead to institutional inertia and a preference to go on providing the same activities from year to year.[43] What was once a small-scale pioneering venture may grow into a nation-wide organization which meets the needs of a regular membership or category of clients. In the same manner that not all voluntary organizations are responsive to change and always pioneers, there is no justification for the view that public agencies are prone to carry on as before and fail to innovate.[44] It may indeed be the case that real sources of innovation and renewal are to be found in the interstices of the traditional relationships between public agencies and voluntary organizations in the welfare states. This directs attention to other manifestations of collective voluntary action found in self-help groups, mutual aid organizations and social movements. As Kramer has pointed out many of the developments heralded as pioneering ventures by voluntrry organizations "...consist principally of small-scale, incremental improvements or extensions of conventional social services with relatively few original or novel features".[45] According to Kramer the best examples of true innovation are to be found in the self-help organizations and social movements rather than the established voluntary organizations.[46]

On the basis of the presentation of a case-study and a discussion of the concept of 'voluntary organization' in relation to other forms of voluntary collective action, this paper suggests that there are real grounds for doubting both the desirability and feasibility of stimulating the expansion of voluntary organizations in an attempt to compensate for cuts in public expenditure. The provision of welfare services by voluntary organizations are characterized by uneven geographical and social distribution, weak public accountability, a dependency upon a hard core of self-selected activists, and highly selective recruitment of members and volunteer workers. These are features of long standing, and there are few indications of imminent change despite the attempts by governments to organize an army of 'unwaged labour' to man the barricades of the 'caring community' in their assault upon the welfare state. In the complex interstices of the welfare state and the emergent caring community, the sources of renewal and creativity are primarily located in the self-help groups and social movements. Although these manifestations of voluntary action are critical of the shortcomings of service-providing agencies in the welfare state they have few expectations of the caring community. Given the specific historical construction of the welfare state in the Netherlands and the proposed form of the caring community, the long established voluntary organizations associated with voluntary initiative in the Netherlands are most likely to be the major beneficiaries of the social organization of voluntary action in the caring community. The political conception of the caring community implies the very reverse of that envisaged by the founding-father of the welfare state. In 1948 Beveridge argued that

> The term 'Voluntary Action' as used here, means private action, that is to say action not under the direction of any authority wielding the power of the state.[47]

Beveridge hastened to point out, however, that the state was responsible for the provision of public services in order to overcome the arbitrary nature of voluntary action associated with what he called the 'philanthropic agencies'. The major danger associated with the emphasis upon voluntary action in the caring society is the potential degree of arbitrariness in the transformation of personal troubles into public issues.[48] It is not insignificant that governments seek to increase the role of voluntary organizations in a period characterized by the greatest degree of personal troubles since the creation of the welfare state. This is nothing less than the 'privatization' of public issues.

* * *

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# VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS AT MISKOLC

by László Harangi

## Preface

The present paper offers an overview of association life at Miskolc, the second biggest town of Hungary with special regard to the functioning of voluntary organisations and their role in adult education. The aim of our investigation was to render the national image of voluntary organisations more tangible and more plastic with the help of a case study. Miskolc was chosen because of its being a lively industrial and commercial town with rich association traditions where civic initiative has multiplied recently (Miskolc has a population of 210 000).

The survey covers registered local associations operating as an idependent body corporate, local chapters of country-wide organisations and informal organisations. Despite their enormous financial and moral significance, non-public self-help activities taking place in the private sphere (e.g. house-building with the help of colleagues or relatives) fall outside the scope of our investigations.

Material collection included document analysis, statistics, interviews and observation. Both the leaders of the associations we counsulted and the staffs of the city council and the culture house respectively contributed willingly to the management and implementation of our project.

## Historical Retrospect

In 1830, not even three years after the foundation of the Budapest National Casino by István Széchenyi, a renown political figure of the Hungarian reform era, the nobles and burghers of Miskolc founded their own Miskolc National Casino. The Club of Miskolc Burghers, providing assistance to its members in case of trouble beside espousing matters of culture, seceded from the Casino in 1837. The Borsod-Miskolc Association of Education and Museum was established in 1893, and it played a leading role in the life of the town until its 1948 dissolution. The Association organised free instruction (a workers' secondary school, for example), and various literary and artistic events, beside tending the musical life of the town.

World War I was followed by an extraordinary boom of association life: federations, associations and societies pursuing the most diverse goals (not to mention the openly left-wing organisations) sprang to life one after the other. This increased zest of association life was related to the fact that, after the Trianon Peace Treaty, hundreds of officials' families fled to Miskolc from the disannexed territories; these people had rich public-life experiences and they pursued their customary civic activities in the new setting as well. Miskolc was no exception in that voluntary organisations and associations were badly needed for assuring self-help compensation for post-World War I privations, since the situation of the lower and middle strata of society had deteriorated most significantly, and there existed no state or town welfare system as yet.

In 1928, there were 165 Miskolc-based associations with a total membership of 43 729. Of course, this does not mean that every man and woman joined one or the other of the various societies, federations or voluntary organisations; many people were active/held offices in as many as five or six organisations. The breakdown of the associations by types was as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| patriotic | 3 | religious | 2 |
| veterans | 11 | cultural | 6 |
| artistic | 16 | scholarly | 1 |
| sports | 23 | humanitarian | 13 |
| self-help | 12 | social and club | 9 |
| rights | 62 | other | 7 |

The source documents suggest that although the social background of these associations consisted mainly of tradesmen and officers, i.e. members of the middle classes, a considerable number of manual workers (railwaymen, industrial workers, journeymen etc.) were also involved. Participation in an association meant serious financial burdens but the members accepted this willingly. The so-called MOKAN-Comité (abbr. for Hungarian Communist Anti-Nazi Committee), the partisan group of the Miskolc working youth, was founded in 1944.

## The Present Situation of Voluntary Associations

At end-1982, the number and membership of the Miskolc local associations was as follows:

| association<br>type | number | membership |
|---|---|---|
| scholarly | 1 | 500 |
| artistic, cultural, town protection | 2 | 600 |
| sports | 29 | 11.300 |
| hunters | 17 | 700 |
| anglers | 5 | 9.200 |
| stock breeding and animal protection | 8 | 200 |
| other | 9 | 9.000 |
| total | 71 | 31.500 |

As can be seen, both the number and the total membership of associations decreased significantly (from 165 to 71 and from 43 000 to 31 500, respectively), while the population of the town trebled in the meantime. Self-help and humanitarian associations (whose role was taken over by the state) vanished from the scene; artistic and cultural associations and social circles became very scarce.

At Miskolc, the same as elsewhere, the revival of voluntary associations is greatly hindered by the fact that most of the time and energy of the most active social strata is absorbed by second economy; one may encounter a certain degree of indifference and inexperience as well. The paternalistic guardianship of the last decades also enhanced incompetence and passivity. Maybe a new generation will have to grow up for civic activities and association life to become a common cause embraced by each and every member of the population.

## Local Associations of a Socio-Cultural Profile

At present, there are eight Miskolc associations which pursue goals related to socio-cultural animation, adult education and culture; most of them were founded in the last two or three years.

The Cultural Association of Avas was founded in 1983 to improve the cultural provision of Avas-South, the largest housing estate of the town numbering 40 000, by means or voluntary action. Civic collaboration was provoked by the fact that the town-size district had no other educational establishment but a primary school. The 100-strong association has some 30-40 active members, most of them teachers. Their biggest enterprise is the organisation (in co-operation with the town house of culture) of Avas Maying, the yearly Spring folk fest of the dwelling estate.

The Nature Protecting Association of County Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén is one of the few nature and environment protecting organisations of the country. It was established in 1982, when the more loosely structured Circle of Friends of the Bükk Hills National Park applied for registration as an association. Its objective is to protect the values and rarities of nature, to advice the decisions related to nature protection taken at the county and local levels and to inform and instruct the great public.

The Teampannon Dwellers' Association was organised in 1979 by a group of young designing architects who studied together and shared the same views and architectural conceptions. According to their credo embodied in the charter of the association, they consider it their duty to embellish the town, even it that means solving very sophisticated problems of design (as in the case of the renovation of the broken-down old town centre). The association also represents the dwellers' interests of its members, whose life has been the subject of a documentary film.

The Miskolc Association of Town Embellishment was founded in 1984, so that Miskolc, too, might have a voluntary organisation capable of giving expert opinion on town development plans and of representing the problems related to urbanisation. The association raised its voice against any further housing development on the Avas Mountain recreational zone of the town. The secretary of the association is the architect-in-chief of the town council, that is, the association is closely linked to state administration, with all the positive and negative implications of such a setup.

The Association of the Alumni of the Ancient Gymnasium of Miskolc fosters the traditions associated with the Calvinist school and college founded in 1560. Its membership consists of the alumni and teachers of the legal successor of the ancient school. Its main field of activity is the management of alumni meetings and the organisation of commemorative meetings in honour of the most notable students and teachers of the school.

The Club of Young Intellectuals, founded in 1985, was called to life by a spontaneous initiative. It has got some 60 members, mainly young jurists and economists. The fully autonomous debating club aims at creating an intellectual community with an in-depth knowledge of the country and the town. The debating evenings are devoted to the discussion of topical issues of sociology, social policy and pedagogy (alienation in the new dwelling estates, in towns, in villages etc.).

The two Associations of Collectors of Miniature Books (one of an ethnographical, the other of a mineral-history profile) group 120 people in all and function as voluntary publishing houses as well, providing for their own member and the various Hungarian and foreign collectors.

## Sports and Anglers' Associations, Hunters' Societies and Other Associations

There are 51 sports and anglers' associations and hunters' societies at Miskolc at present, with a total membership of 21 200, i.e. they constitute 71.9% of all local associations and 67.3% of their total membership. Leading functionaries and intellectuals are overrepresented in the associations of anglers and hunters. The outstanding role of these two types of associations is explained, among other things, by the rich natural endowments of the nearby area.

*Sports associations*. 19 of the 29 sports associations are sponsored by various plants and enterprises (e.g. the *Miners' Sports Circle*, the *Physical Culture Circle of the Diósgyőr Ironworks* etc.), the others by offices and institutions (*Justicia Sports Association* of the Courts of Justice of County Borsod, *Miskolc University Athletics and Football Club* etc.).

The intensive communal and social life taking place in some of the associations is still very popular among the workers. The autonomous *community mass sports organisations* (e.g. the *Avas Community Sports Association*, the *Tizeshonvéd Street Sports Club of the Housing Estate* etc.), which mainly rely on their own sources of income, approximate the ideal type of voluntary organisations very closely. The *Circle of Friends of the DVTK* (Diósgyőr Ironworkers' Athletics Club) was established in order to counterbalance declining enterprise sponsorship: its members are enthousiastic fans who often contribute considerable donations to their favourite football team.

*Societies of anglers*. The five Miskolc-based anglers' clubs have 9200 members in all; they play a very significant role in the proliferation of cultural information. The *North Hungarian Association of Anglers*, established in 1955, is a mammoth organisation with a membership of 8000, 21% of whom are young people below the age of 18. The members of the association take part in environment protection: they are advocates of the "Clear water, orderly beach" movement and they build anglers' houses at their own expenses. Once a week they organise projections for the youth at their headquarters.

*Associations of hunters.* The 17 Miskolc-based hunters' associations have 700 members. 86% of their income originates from the selling of the game they shoot, i.e. they are independent financially (e.g. *Meal Industry Hunters' Association* *Dózsa Hunters' Association* etc.). Although they pursue no explicit cultural activity, the communal life of the association is very intensive. Association members keep a record of the animals of the area, they build hunters' lodges with voluntary work and take care of maintaining the ecological balance. There are other local associations such as the *County Association of the Handicapped*, the *Parents' Organisation for Protecting the Rights of Mentally Handicapped Children* , etc.

## Miskolc Chapters of Country-Wide Voluntary Organisations and Associations

Practically all the important country-wide voluntary organisations and associations have established their town or county chapters at Miskolc. Membership data suggest that these organisations have a rather wide sphere of operation, despite the high number of formal, passive, members, The following table shows the memberships of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP), the trade unions (TU) and the Communist Youth Organisation (CYO), respectively, as percentages of the adult population:

| Employment | HSWP | TU | CYO |
|---|---|---|---|
| agricultural | 1.1 | 0.3 | - |
| industrial | 27.0 | 52.9 | 41.8 |
| administrative | 13.8 | 13.2 | 15.4 |
| technician | 14.3 | 8.0 | 8.8 |
| manager | 15.9 | 32.2 | 4.4 |
| pensioner | 1.1 | 5.2 | - |
| housewife | 0,5 | 0.6 | - |
| intellectual | 23.9 | 16.4 | 29.7 |

It is a vital problem of Hungarian social democratism that the big social organistaions (such as the trade unions and the Communist Youth Organisation) have become very bureaucratic, and that they exert their interest safeguarding function occasionally or not at all. It is a characteristic feature of the activity of big social organisations that it takes place at the place of work, in the working hours.

The third largest Miskolc organisation (after the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Communist Youth Organisation) is the Patriotic Popular Front which makes every effort to foster the material and intellectual growth of the town by organising widespread social co-operation. It has no membership, only committees of experts (of educational policy, for example) working by the side of a Town Presidium, and voluntary activists assigned by districts who communicate the demands of the population to the Presidium and the expert committees. As for the voluntary associations, the Patriotic Popular Front strives to gather together those associations which need help to provide them with information and interest protection (legal counsel, for example).

The county (and town) organisation of the Federation of Technical and Scientific Associations unites the technical, scientific and agricultural intelligentsia of the town. Its main field of interest is professional trainig and the management of experience exchange. Each of the 33 member associations of this group has its Miskolc chapter and the great majority of the local technical intelligentsia has already joined one or the other of these associations.

The Society for the Dissemination of Culture organises some 3700 lectures and other programs with some 180 000 participants each year. The County Party Committee regularly calls on the Society to assist in the implementation of political decisions with the means of the popularisation of scientific knowledge that are at its disposal. However, the work of the Society is greatly hindered by the defective material conditions. The Kazinczy Club, located in the headquarters of the Society, consists of a single big hall where the more representative lectures are held. The social life of the club is insignificant.

The Miskolc branch of the Hungarian Red Cross movement is most effective in Avas South area. Red Cross lectures and programs are held at the quarters of the party organisation of the housing estate. Moreover, the organisation has regular meetings held on the first Wednesday each month, devoted to the problems and prophylaxis of the old. Counsel is given by young specialists of the Semmelweis Hospital, who provide this service on a voluntary basis.

The other country-wide organistaions (such as the Federation of the Blind or the Association of Hungarian Socio-Cultural Animators, for example) also have their Miskolc chapters. From the point of view of adult education, the recently founded Handicraft Association of Folk-Artists is worth mentioning: it displays a most effective activity based on its own resources.

## Informal Associations and Voluntary Organisations

Most groups belonging here function under the aegis of an educational institution or a social organisation; they forbear from becoming autonomous associations, because they feel more secure this way both financially and morally (beside being released from the burdens of administrative work).

According to the relevant statistical data, in 1984 the 32 Miskolc bases of culture (i.e. cultural centres, houses, halls, companies etc.) included 102 "small groups" (amateur dramatic companies, clubs etc.), with 3029 members above the age of 14. Ten to twelve of these led some sort of an association life of their own (characterised by autonomy, collectivity, communal life etc.).

The most important centre of amateur groups is the Ironworkers' Cultural Centre. The Diósgyőr Ironworkers' Photographic Circle, founded in 1944, is one of the best-equipped "study circles" of its kind, with a budget of Ft 55 000. In the course of the last five years, the members of the Circle have won 112 individual and 6 collective prizes. East, a creative group interested in literature and public life above all, was established at the end of the 1960s. Its members, young teachers, jurists, journalists, etc., some 25 young intellectuals in all, are united by their wish to create and by the opportunity of shop work. They are often invited to plants and clubs for a debate or a discussion. East holds an evening of discussion each week and it has published three anthologies so far.

The 43-strong Diósgyőr Ironworkers' Brass Band, a member of the "Good Luck" Circle of Singing and Self-Education, was founded in 1893. Its members are recruited from among the ironworkers, their pensioners and the students of the schools of music.

The Disógyőr Ironworkers' Mixed Choir also began its career under the aegis of the "Good Luck" circle in 1893. Its members, 62 persons in all, also work at the factory. The annual budget of the Choir is Ft 80 000. Its performances make it worthy of the ironworkers' traditions.

The other cultural and educational institutions of the town also have their own self-governed cultural communities, "quasi-associations". The Circle of the Amateur Artists of Borsod, a 66-strong group consisting of the best amateur artists of the county, belongs to the County Centre of Culture. The Town Circle of Friends of Music is associated with the Miskolc Symphonic Orchestra; its leader is the conductor of the orchestra. The group approximating most closely the character of the old casino is the Artists' Club of the Miskolc Gallery. Its members come from a well-defined section of the intelligentsia: they are architects, journalists and artists who like to entertain themselves and hold debates amidst cultured circumstances. Another cultural community with strong internal bonds is the 40-strong folk and artistic ensemble of Görömböly, a small village near Miskolc, called Görömböly Peacock Circle. The Circle intends to apply for registration as an association.

The Workshop of New Music, the Miskolc society of the fans of modern music, meets on the premises of the Ferenc Rákóczi II. County Library. The Diósgyőr Cultural Association grouping the supporters of one of the oldest Miskolc districts has been founded recently, under the aegis of the town chapter of the Patriotic Popular Front.

It seems that "casino-type" social life by age groups becomes institutionalised in the case of the old above all, as witnessed by the stable and autonomous pensioners' clubs functioning in the town. Although these organisations are usually associated with another cultural institution, they arrange their programs themselves, they have an elected leadership and they husband their various resources (membership dues, grants) themselves. As far as we know, at present, there are five or six voluntary associations of this type at Miskolc (the Oprendek Sándor Pensioners' Club functioning at the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party quarters, the Pensioners' Club under Hatvanötösök 17/a, another similar club at the Ironworkers' House of Culture, the Club of Pensionary Teachers etc.). Another fully independent and autonomous community (for all age groups) is the Miskolc Club of Solitary People, which finances its excursions, cultural programs and dances from its own resources. The majority of its 80 members are women between the ages of 40 and 50.

The clubs of the dwelling estates, especially the new ones, unite the inhabitants of a staircase or a line of panels and strengthen the neighbourly bonds. At present, the 10 500 families living at the Avas dwelling estate have seven staircase clubs. The most efficient dwellers' club of the town is the Dwellers' Club of Hajós, a voluntary institution organised by the inhabitants of the 192 flats of the dwelling estate. The club has some 30-40 regular members who occasionally organise cultural programs (dealing with the Miskolc painters, etc.) as well.

Physical work performed by the population in the public sphere is an important manifestation of occasional voluntary and self-help activity. The most important relevant data are as follows:

| Year | Ft (millions) | Ft (per person) |
|---|---|---|
| 1976 | 43.6 | 218 |
| 1977 | 46.3 | 228 |
| 1978 | 45.5 | 218 |
| 1979 | 34.7 | 165 |
| 1980 | 58.4 | 285 |

The establishments and works realised with the help of voluntary work are the following: Ice-Rink, the Avas Youth Park, the terminal of Bus 1/D; arrangement of the Hejőliget green area, the garden of the Petőfi Library, the library of Kilián Secondary School and the modelling grounds.

The network of dwellers committees (voluntary social and interest-safeguarding units of the population) is established at Miskolc, too. One dwellers' committee (or one street committee in the case of houses with gardens) usually unites the dwellers of 50 to 150 flats. The role of this network in public opinion polls and in the mediation of the dwellers' demands is somewhat incidental and casual at present, but it will most probably improve in proportion to the strengthening of community life.

Seven of the small churches - the Baptist Church, the Congregation of Christian Brotherhood, the Free Christian Congregation, the Methodist Church, the Apostolic Church of First Christians, the Seventh Day Adventist Church and the Lutheran Whitsun Congregation - have congregations at Miskolc. These communities live an intensive communal life; their members share a sense of material and moral responsibility, and they build their prayer-houses with a joint effort. The congregations in question unite some 2000 believers.

The voluntary health care network centering around various state institutions (e.g. the homes for the old) provides services like the fetching of dinner, house cleaning, etc. Its agents are mostly young people. Another regular activity is voluntary blood-giving organised by the National Blood Donor Service.

## Closing Remarks

The image outlined in the above is rather complex and often contradictory, albeit we have omitted many organisations such as the elected bodies of managers and experts of state and co-operative institutions; parents' panels assisting the work of schools; the network of people's inspectors or the group of voluntary policemen.

What has been said so far goes to prove that at Miskolc, too, there exists a certain void between state organs and private activities filled with effective value-creating, self-help and interest-safeguarding mechanisms partly only. However, it is an encouraging feature that civic activity is on the rise, in spite of the growing burdens or maybe in order to counterbalance them; at Miskolc, a local society able to co-operate both with society as a whole and with the state is emerging.

Moreover, the data quoted in the above indicate that at Miskolc the local conditions of the development of social democracy are given. The local administrative and political institutions do not hinder evolution; the channels of local publicity are active, the new media (e.g. cable TV broadcasting for 2 hours weekly) included. The growth of activity is hindered by economic constraints, the novelty of the tasks to be solved, not by personal factors.

# PUTTEN AND ITS VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

by J. Katus

## 1. Introduction

More or less paraphrasing the Hungarian author Keresztesné (1979) one could say that both the study of andragogic practices in other cultures and providing information about these practices in one's own culture are among the tasks of comparative andragology. The execution of these tasks assumes, however, according to Van Enckevort (1972), a pioneer of comparative andragology in the Dutch-Hungarian context, that both sides are acquainted with each other's cultural, historical, social, economic, and political backgrounds. It would be wrong, however, to view this only in terms of the macro level. Intercultural communication can also be furthered when a specific problem is examined in the context of a relatively small-scale social system. One illustration of this is the study by Varga (1985) in which, on the basis of the categories "organic" and "inorganic" development, he gives attention to the situation in the countryside of Hungary. For Varga organic development means that a community "builds upon its past while simultaneously meeting the challenge of the future". In contrast, inorganic development implies discontinuity between past and present. Varga points out that there is a historical discontinuity in Hungary. According to him "Recent Hungarian history was characterized by a cramping of individuals' inner wishes by external pressure - expecially in the 1950s". A negative consequence of this discontinuity is alienation in one's own community. In organic developed societies "...individuals identify with their position and volunteer to help develop their settlement", whereas in inorganic development there is by contrast, "...little readiness" for voluntary effort.

In this paper attention will be devoted to the voluntary efforts of people in an organically developed Dutch community Putten, which comprises a village together with the surrounding neighbourhhoods and farms. The study is conducted in search of answers to questions such as the situation of Dutch villages in general, what is to be understood by the term 'voluntary organization', the nature of voluntary organizations in Putten, and their relationships with the local government. Answers to these questions are sought through a study of the literature and other written sources, together with discussion and interviews.* It is by no means the pretention that we are concerned with a 'typical' Dutch village. It would have been possible in principle to have directed attention to any other Dutch village. Putten was chosen on the purely pragmatic grounds that the author lives in this particular place.

## 2. Villages in the Netherlands

Villages are historically, as Van den Berg (1941) told his audiences, among others at Folk High Schools more than fifty years ago, products of the 'rural way of life', in which the majority of the local population is involved with working the soil or is dependent upon the results of that work.

In his typology of Dutch villages, Van den Berg identified the oldest settlements as being those which were established on high, relative to sealevel, sandy soils during pre-historic times. The primitive farmers found there good soil for arable farming, grasslands for cattle, as well as wood for constructing shelters and to serve as fuel. The history of the ribbon settlements in the delta of the Rhine was the product of a later period. These villages are built against, or on, the top of heavy dykes. Ribbon settlement is also the characteristic of the villages which owe their origins to turf-digging areas. A contrast to such ribbon development is formed by the villages in the dune area close to the North Sea, where the houses are gathered closely together around the church. Different again are the villages on islands in small lakes and along waterways, and the villages built on mounds in low-lying areas unprotected by dykes.

Van den Berg made reference to the important changes which exerted their influence upon the Dutch countryside, the differences between towns and villages declining in the nineteenth century. Railways, steam-boats, bus services, telegraph, telephone, radio, and the bicycle had contributed prior to the Second World War to the declining isolation of rural settlements.

The term 'increase of scale' is generally used to describe the developments affecting the Dutch countrysede in recent decades. Groot (1972) distinguishes between three kinds of increase of scale, namely the physical, structural, and mental. Increasing physical scale gives rise to larger units, while increasing structural scale leads to differentiation and specialization, and the involvement of individuals and groups in these larger units. Mental increase of scale involves people in consciously relating to broader social relationships.

Looked at more closely, the increase of scale in the rural acreas has been particularly important in a number of respects (Streekdorpen, 1979). Larger productive units in agriculture developed, which were related to a higher degree of mechanization and specialization, while at the same time employment in agriculture significantly decreased. Employment was created in other sectors. Between 1945 and the early 1970s the Netherlands changed from being a predominantly agricultural to an industrial nation. At present only

270.000 of the total work-force of 4.501.000 is engaged in agriculture and fisherises, while the total populations is 14.5 million. The corresponding figures for industry and other sectors are respectively 1.244.000 and 2.985.000 (Netherlands, 1986).

Improved public transport, mass ownership of private cars furthered the mobility of the people, who were no longer dependent upon their place of residence for employment and other services. Increased mobility and developments in communication technology, for example the introduction of television, have been a stimulus to the mental increase in scale. The inhabitants of the countryside adopted more and more norms, values and expectations of urban dwellers. Furthermore, a lot of erstwhile urban-dwellers moved to villages while continuing to be employed in towns. The causes of this phenomenon were the shortage of accommodation in the towns, noise, air pollution, lack of green space, the inhuman scale of urban areas, and the fact that 'living in the countryside' became fashionable.

It is in the Netherlands today not easy to provide a satisfactory definitons of the term 'village'. As Van den Berg already pointed out the term 'village' has long been associated with agriculture. However, "in our present society many a village has largely lost this meaning: many villages are urbanized, with the result that the village has changed from being an unit of working and residence into a residential unit in a broader context..." (Streekdorpen, 1979). Following Van Paassen et. al. (1955), one can now prefere the term 'residential community'. This term refers to "a functioning whole of greater or lesser numbers of related households, which meet each other locally, form a more or less closed community and which can to a greater or lesser degree meet common needs". These are needs such as those in the consumption, social, spiritual, and recreational areas, and which are met by means of shops, the skilled trades, chools, churches, facilities for recreation, associations, and its own form of local government. In this manner a 'residential community' involves more than the meaning of 'village' in everyday parlance, since it also involves the households surrounding the village itself.

## 3. Putten

Putten is one of the old villages on sandy soil referred to previously. Its history began with the appearance of the 'primitive farmers'; historical evidence of its existence dating back to 855 A.D.

The history of Putten (Cloo and Friso, n.d.) is not only long, but is also stirring. The village has been threatenend by catastrophes and war. In 1421, for example, the Bishop of Utrecht ordered it to be burnt down. Almost five centuries later, on 2nd October 1944, Putten was again a sea of flame. This time it was the German occupiers who had set fire to the village as a retaliatory measure for a group of resistence fighters that had opened fire upon a German car a couple of days earlier (Gedenkboek, 1948).

The revenge exacted by the occupiers was not restricted to destroying the houses. Six hundred men from Putten were taken prisoner and sent to the Neuengamme concentration camp in Germany. Only 49 returned and of these a further 5 died within a short period.

Since the liberation in 1945 by the Canadians, Putten has become a relatively prosperous residential community with schools, shops, and facilities for sport and recreation, which manifests many of the symptoms of the increase of scale in various degrees.

The foundations of Putten's prosperity were to a degree laid before the Second World War. In the middle of the nineteenth century railway and roads were the beginnings of an infrastructure which was of importance for its economic development. The exploitation of timber from the surrounding woods, for example, could be intensified. At the same time, furthermore, technological developments took place in other areas. The invention of wire-netting, for example, allowed farmers to keep more chickens. As a result egg production increased from 2,8 million per year in 1898 to 19 million in 1929. Around the turn of the century the farmers began to organize themselves. For the purpose of making collective purchases at advantageous prices, an agricultural co-operative was established in 1900. A few years later a co-operative dairy factory was created.

The massacre of a part of the male population and the burning of houses were not only heavy losses in human terms, but also in economic terms. A shortage of money and materials added to the difficulties of reconstruction in the immediate post-war years. Nonetheless, plans were made towards the end of the 1950s for expansion and industrialization. As a result of an active industrialization policy a number of factories was built. In addition to agriculture and industry, tourism has become of great importance to Putten since the war. The village is surrounded by forests and situated close to the large Veluwe lake in an area which has been developed in national terms to provide an important recreational function for the densely populated western part of the Netherlands. Although there were only 4000 holidaymakers visiting Putten in 1952, sixteen years later 100.000 tourists made use of its camp-sites, water-sport facilities, and numerous paths for cycling and walking.

In spatial terms Putten has strongly expanded, which is partly explained by its being accessible by car, bus and train. The population has doubled between 1950 and 1985 and at present stands at 20.000. The majority of the population is protestant with only 6% being Roman Catholic. Approximately half of the inhabitants came from elsewhere. Among these newcomers there are the retired but also many commuters who travel daily to the work over distances of up to 100 kilometers. As far as employment is concerned 3.5% of the population is engaged in agriculture, 2.5% in industry, and 13% in the other sectors. The unemployment percentage is 2%.

Local political life in Putten is significantly subject to confessional influence as is indicated by the distribution of seats in the municipal council following the municipal elections in 1986. The council has 19 members. The christian-democrats are the largest single party with 7 seats. Two small confessional parties have together 4 seats, which means that the confessional parties form the majority with 11 members. The social-democratic party has two seats and the liberals 3. In addition there is a party which is concerned with purely local issues - and not moved by 'greater' ideological concerns - this 'municipal interest' party having three seats.

Not only is the power of the confessional parties comparatively great, but the political influence of the native populace is clearly greater than that of the newcomers. This can be explained by the lower level of political activity among the latter, who are generally satisfied with the pleasant environment which they have found in Putten. In so far as they live on a pension or work elsewhere, they have little political interest based upon their economic ties. In addition, newcomers behave in general as "transplanted urban dwellers" in residential communities; "they carry on in the same unengaged and unobligatory manner with their fellows as they did in the urban society from which they have escaped" (Streekdorpen, 1979).

Differences of opinion and way of life can lead from time to time to conflicts. These can also be understood from the viewpoint of the increase of scale. Putten is widely regarded as a 'conservative' community in the public imagination. This means in fact that the increase of scale in mental terms has developed among the native population at a slower pace than in other respects. One illustration of such a local conflict was the commotion caused by the proposed appointment of a woman to the position of mayor. Although such a position in national terms is far from being equally occupied by men and women, there are women mayors elsewhere. Orthodox calvinist protestants protested against the idea of a female mayor on religious grounds. In terms of their biblical interpretation, they are of the opinion that men and women should not have the same positions either in the family or outside of it (Dorrestein, 1981).

## 4. Voluntary Organizations and Voluntary Work

The voluntary efforts of people on behalf of each other and their community are numerous both in the Netherlands in general and Putten in particular. These voluntary efforts can take various forms including voluntary organizations. Following Van der Ploeg (1978) voluntary organizations may be understood as "organizations set up by private persons which are not concerned with making a profit for distribution among those involved in the organization and which are not primarily concerned with the management of an amount of capital." As the present author has earlier attempted to make clear in Hungarian (Katus, 1985), there are in the Netherlands many thousands of voluntary organizations ranging from the area of education to trade unions. Their level of organization can vary from that of a short-term action group to that of foundation or assiotation with the seal of royal approval.

Abma (1962) locates the beginnings of such organizations in the first half of the eighteenth century. They were concerned with promoting one or another 'good cause'. According to Van der Ploeg they aimed at the relief of the material and spiritual needs of others. Our own century has mainly seen the growth of voluntary organizations which are concerned with promoting the material interests and the recreation and development of their own members.

The constitutional recognition of the freedom of association and gathering in the nineteenth century was beneficial for the growth of voluntary organizations. Since that time they have become an essential part of Dutch society (cf. the contributions by Van Gent and Krudde elsewhere in this volume).

An important aspect of voluntary organizations is the fact that their functioning is often entirely dependent upon the work of volunteers. Voluntary work in the areas of welfare work, health care, and culture is defined in the 1985 policy document of the appropriate Ministry as "work which is carried out without compulsion or payment in an organized manner in the interests of others or of society". Of the total population of the Netherlands 45,3% participate in one or another form of voluntary work. The most volunteers, their number is 1.643.000, are involved in the area of sport. A further 1,388.000 volunteers are engaged in providing help for neighbours, pensioners, and the handicapped, while 1.070.000 are enaged in the cultural fields of singing, music, drama etc.

It should be mentioned that voluntary work has become the subject of discussion in Dutch society. According to Van der Heijden (1982) the definition of 'voluntary work' is one of the central points in the discussions between the government, trade unions, voluntary organizations, and political parties. The question is where voluntary work ends and paid work begins. This question is also important because of the high level of unemployment (4.7% of the toal population, or 10.13% of the national labour force) in the Netherlands. This means that employment opportunities are scarce. Voluntary work can make these opportunities even scarcer. The government is accused of trying to reduce public expentiture by encouraging voluntary work. The trade unions are opposed to this policy while not, however, being opposed to 'pure voluntary work' which should be stimulated in their view.

## 5. Voluntary Effort in Putten

It is only possible to arrive at an approximation of the number of voluntary organizations in Putten. One reason for this is that there is no compulsory registration, let alone formal recognition, of such organizations. It is possible for a few people to decide to set up an action or pop-group while drinking a beer together, at which point a voluntary organization has come into existence. Such organizations can also 'expire' without any formalities being required.

It is possible to arrive at an estimation of the number of voluntary organizations of a more durable nature by consulting the annual guide to Putten which is published by the information office of the municipality. This guide includes all kinds of useful information which the inhabitants or other interested people may find of use from time to time. It includes the addresses and telephone numbers of the fire brigade, police, the municipal offices, the ambulance service, together with diverse other organizations, associations, political parties and churches. The number of voluntary organizations included in this guide is about 125 (Gids, 1985).

When attention is focused upon the social and cultural sector, it is possible to arrive at a more accurate picture of voluntary organizations in Putten. This is provided by an exploratory study undertaken in 1980 as part of the planning of welfare provision which took place in the context of the decentralization policy of the government. This policy is, according to the research report, directed to "bringing decisions about all which concerns government in welfare and welfare provision closer to the population. Things will no longer be determined, as was the case, unilaterally between central government and the organizations themselves" (Inventarisatie, 1981). This means among other things that the money, which previously went directly from government to organizations in the field of welfare, will now go to the municipalities which will allocate these resources as it sees fit under certain conditions. Among these conditions is the requirement that the municipality conducts a needs analysis among voluntary organizations and make a welfare plan on this basis.

One of the main conclusions to be drawn from the study carried out in the context of welfare planning in Putten is that there is a flourishing social-cultural associational life characterized by a high concentration of activities. The largest number of voluntary organizations is found in the fields of artistic activities and adult education. The protestant section of the population is strongly organized in the social-cultural field, while the non-religious associations show "a fairly clear growth" in many respects. The result of the study of voluntary organizations are summarized in the table.

As was mentioned previously, the role of local government in the social-cultural field has recently increased as a consequence of the national policy of decentralization. This raises the question of the relationships between local government and the voluntary organizations. According to the municipal council of Putten" public authorities cannot and should not seek to determine the welfare of the citizen. The individual is in the first place responsible for his own welfare". The task of local government is regarded as creating the conditions for the exercise of this responsibility. It is explicitly

Table: Social and Cultural Voluntary Organizations in Putten

| Variables | Youth Organizations | Amateur Arts | Adult Education | Community Work |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number | 11 | 18 | 26 | 11 |
| Response | 9 | 16 | 24 | 8 |
| Membership | | | | |
| - confessional | 696 | 692 | 821 | 2480 |
| - general | 131 | 420 | 1015 | |
| Volunteers | | | | |
| - total (including committee members) | 141(20) | 98 | 284 | 161 |
| - average hours per person devoted to voluntary work per month | 2 to 25 | -- | 4 to 10 | 8 to 16 |

(Source: Inventarisatie, 1981)

stated, furthermore, that the policy of the municipal council is to strengthen the position of volunteers and that they should be involved as far as is possible (Specifiek Welzijn, 1986).

The municipal council is thus positive in its attitude towards volunteers and voluntary organizations, but these cannot count upon ample financial support. They are expected to secure resources from elsewhere by means of fund-raising activities. 'Being able to stand on their own feet' is apparently primary. In the distribution of financial resources for welfare provisions, the highest priority is given to "activities regarded as being of great importance for the community of Putten". What is of "great importance" is clearly a political question, the answer to which is determined by the municipal council itself. This answer is not always satisfactory in the eyes of the young, looking for possibilities for relaxation, and the newcomers to Putten.

## 6. Conclusion

It is clear that both work and voluntary organizations play an important part in Dutch society in general, and in Putten is particular.

The significance of this sector for the quality of life has been emphasized at international level.

Quite recently the General Assembly of the United Nations invited national governments to promote awareness of the importance of voluntary work for economic and social development (Resolution, 1986). To this end it was found necessary to stimulate people "...in all walks of life to offer their services as volunteers..." Prior to this, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe had recommended to the governments of its member states that the citizens should be made aware "...of the social problems and the contributions which voluntary work may make to their solution" (Committee of Ministers, 1985). At the same time local voluntary work should be stimulated. All member states recognize that "...in the health and social sector as in others, voluntary activities play an extremely important part in the operations of certain services and certain types of actions as well as in the dissemination of innovating ideas".

Political attention paid to voluntary organizations has stimulated the interest of researchers. In this regard the remark by Wilensky is still possibly valid, and not only as far as the United States are concerned. According to him social scientists in America have only been able to deliver, with regard to voluntary organizations, "...an abundance of ideological passion, a minimum of serious analysis and few cross-cultural comparisons".

The work by Kramer (1981) forms a positive exception and offers possible points of departure for further comparative study in the Dutch-Hungarian context. Kramer studied 75 voluntary organizations in the field of mentally handicapped children in England, Israel, the Netherlands and the United States. Of no little importance is his conclusion that, despite the diversity of cultural backgrounds, there are, in the countries concerned, more similarities than differences between voluntary organizations. The kind of voluntary organizations studied by Kramer can be best characterised as promoting sectional interests associated with a specific problem. Government agencies represent the general interest and cannot, even they wished to do so, simulataneously and adequately provide for all needs. Furthermore, voluntary organizations are less bureaucratic, are closer to the people than government services. This makes them more accessible for (potential) clients.

The role of volunteers and voluntary organizations in society deserves more study. Due to their being closer to their members and/or clients, whether in comparison with governmental bureaucracies or not, voluntary organizations are particularly important as intermediaries between providing and user systems especially in the fields of adult education and information. As far as information is concerned they are not of least importance in regard to the dissemination of social and technological innovations.

## Notes

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# VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS AND THE STATE

by C.O. Krudde

## 1. Introduction

Interest in the role played by voluntary associations in society is increasing in a number of courtries, including the Netherlands. What is the reason for this interest and how is the government involved? What is the social function of voluntary associations? What problems are there? Is it necessary or even possible to encourage and promote voluntary work? If so, by whom should this be done and what form should such encouragement take? So many questions are raised to which there are as yet no unequivocal answers. Indeed, the question arises of whether the subject itself is at all clear-cut.

The Netherlands has traditionally had a variety of forms of voluntary work and voluntary associations active in different social fields. Voluntary work therefore has a long history but has recently become the subject of debate as a result of social, economic and political changes which have led to a desire to effect a shift in the position and responsibilities of government and people. The transition from a welfare state in which the State bears the burden of responsibility for social provisions to one in which a larger proportion of that responsibility is assumed by individuals and the social network in which they live, is not a smooth process, quite apart from the question of whether it is in fact possible. One of the central points for discussion in this context is the place and function of voluntary work in relation to remunerated and/or professional employment.

There has been little research into voluntary work because for a long time its relevance to policy-making failed to be recognised. Now that it has become relevant in view of the possible shift in responsibility, researchers come up against the problem of resistance on the part of voluntary associations suspicious of the sudden official interest in their activities and its possible consequence. Nevertheless, research into the place and function of voluntary work in relation to remunerated and professional work in important both for developing a sound policy and for making it possible to compare facts and opinions.

Finally, the terms 'voluntary work' and the work of voluntary associations are taken in this paper to mean 'unremunerated work carried out on a voluntary and organised basis for the benefit of others and of the community as a whole'.

## 2. A historical perspective

Before examining the place and function of voluntary associations and the role of the government in the future, it would perhaps be instructive to take a brief look at the past. As has already been stated in the Introduction, the Netherlands has a long tradition of voluntary action and associations. They have, however, undergone changes in form, substance and significance over the years as a result of developments in social and socio-economic relations.

Industrialisation had great influence on society in the Netherlands, as elsewhere, in particular on social and cultural traditions. Close basic social ties which meant that people looked after one another largely disappeared as a result of changes in employment and the migration from rural to urban areas. Despite the large number of people engaged in industrial work, there was considerable impoverishment and indeed many of the features of an economic crisis.

The period between 1870 and 1930 was of crucial importance for the growth of voluntary work as we know it today. Well-to-do citizens and the church in particular became more aware of social problems and felt constrained to provide solutions themselves without enlisting the aid of the government. The generally-held view was that the government should intervene only as a last resort, i.e. when the efforts of the church and private organisations had failed. Assistance for the poor and care of the sick was provided by voluntary workers and members of religious orders. By the 1930s, a huge number of organisations, each with their own character and following and active in various fields had come into being. At this point too, the State began to provide an increasing number of grants for such work. Improvements in social conditions led to an increase, in leisure time, which boosted membership of various types of clubs and associations, made other activities possible and led to the growth of other forms of voluntary work such as associations for sport, music and drama and bodies linked with trade unions and the political parties.

This trend persisted after the Second World War, thanks to a huge increase in State support. As provisions were expanded and received a greater degree of financial support, certain standards came to be imposed. The development of training for workers in the social service sector produced professionals who gradually took over many of the activities hitherto carried out by volunteers, although many voluntary workers also followed courses in order to obtain a professional qualification. With the creation of a system of collective welfare provisions and the growing professionalisation of workers in this field, the role of voluntary associations in welfare work became a secondary one without however disappearing entirely.

In the seventies new forms of voluntary welfare work appeared in response to criticism of the services available which were seen as institutionalised, bureaucratic and over-professionalised. Pressure, special interest and self-help groups and alternative forms of care and assistance sprang up. Once again, voluntary activities came into being in response to gaps in the provisions or to social circumstances. The government itself, partly under the pressure of social and economic developments, began to question the present welfare state system and its numerous provisions which can no longer be financed. The expansion of State responsibilities in recent decades has had unforeseen consequences. We now have to find alternatives.

## 3. Crisis in the welfare state

The oil crisis in 1973 and the recession which followed marked the end of the long period of postwar economic growth. The network of social provisions which has grown up over the years can no longer be paid for. At the same time, the demand for social provisions has multiplied as a result of changes in social patterns, demographic trends and the rise in unemployment. In view of the economic situation, the answer to the problem of finding the extra funds to pay for this cannot be found in economic growth but must be sought in increased taxation, closer control of expenditure, cuts in other provisions or a combination of the three. The choice is determined by political and social considerations, which involves a debate on the social aspects of the welfare state. Idenburg, who compiled 'De nadagen van de vorzorginksstaat' (The last days of the welfare state - 1983) noted the disproportionate value attached to social and cultural factors by society and the great influence which economic considerations have on political decision-making. In his view, the crisis in the welfare state could also lead to a society characterised by a spirit of renewal and he advocates a society with less State intervention where individuals have room to develop in their own way, so that new, small-scale social movements are able to flourish. Professor Zijderveld refers to the 'consumerist' nature of individuals and groups in the present welfare state which he describes as 'without traditions, uncommitted and egocentric'. In his opinion, society has developed in such a way that the traditional ties such as church, family and neighbourhood have largely lost their function, so that the middle ground of society - which acted as an intermediary between government and the individual citizen - has lost much of its significance, partly as a result of the expansion of government intervention.

It is therefore not only the economic aspects of the welfare state, but also its ideological aspects which play an important role in the debate. The Netherlands government is endeavouring to create a caring society which will steer us towards the 'renewal of the welfare state' with individuals bearing greater responsibility for their own welfare and that of others. Voluntary activities will once again assume an important role in this society. In brief, the debate on the welfare state focuses on the concepts of 'manageability', 'affordability', 'tailor-made provisions' and the 'rediscovery' of voluntary work.

## 4. Voluntary associations and the State

European governments are showing increasing interest in voluntary associations and the role they can play in modifying the current welfare state. Is it possible for a government to concern itself with voluntary work? This type of activity arises after all from personal initiative and not at the government's request. Furthermore, it takes place for the most part outside the state system of provisions, the official labour market and the commercial sector. The State cannot therefore explicitly regulate either voluntary work in general or the voluntary associations in particular. As history shows, voluntary activities come into being to fill what is felt to be a gap in the provisions or as a critical response to existing situations. Would it be correct to assume that this process also takes place when the State divests itself of certain responsibilities? There is insufficient data to support or disprove this assumption.

'Voluntarism and the crisis in the welfare state' was the theme of an international conference held in Jerusalem from 17 to 22 March 1985. R. Hadley, Professor of Social Administration at the University of Lancaster, U.K., indicated in his paper that there are various alternatives to the existing welfare state. The choice of a certain social system also determines the place within that system which voluntary work will occupy. The strategies which may be adopted can in his view be grouped three main headings roughly defined as follows:

1. the defence of the welfare state: to retain and develop the postwar welfare state which is now in a state of crisis;
2. privatisation: a return to the free-market principle;
3. participatory pluralism: a term which covers a number of ideologically differing but practically similar strategies.

Hadley's concepts, while based on the British situation, offer a starting-point from which to consider alternatives and their consequences. It should also be noted that the concepts have been simplified for the sake of brevity and are intended only as rough guides in the discussion of alternative systems. In any event, his analysis makes it clear that each strategy has its own implications for social policy in general and for the role of voluntary associations in particular.

In brief, Hadley's strategies may be outlined as follows (see also diagram on page...).

1. Strategy I - defence of the welfare state

Central government is and must bear primary responsibility for maintaining and guaranteeing a certain level of income, health care, housing, education and welfare by means of policy on taxation and by the direct or indirect creation and financing of provisions. However, commercial organisations and voluntary associations also play a role. The government's role is therefore not an exclusive one, it is true, but it does determine policy, which is subsequently implemented by local authorities.

Role played by voluntary associations

The pattern of voluntary activity reflects the dominant role played by the State. Many activities are taken over by salaried professionals (the process of professionalisation). Organised voluntary work is mainly concerned with providing a supplementary service, criticism and advice, and with filling gaps and breaking new ground. The contribution made by voluntary associations is recognised, but the status of organised voluntary work is seen as subordinate to that of State-organised and financed provisions.

Criticism of the welfare state strategy (as noted in section 3) concerns such points as the economic feasibility, relevance and efficiency of its provisions and the relationship between State provisions and voluntary associations. Criticism of their relevance and efficiency refers mainly to the way in which policy is determined and pursued: in other words, that it is not based on the needs and wishes of clients. Criticism of the role of voluntary associations arises from a. the view that voluntary work cannot cope adequately with demand and b. that the expertise of voluntary workers is in doubt.

Supporters of this strategy acknowledge these points but suggest that with certain modifications the welfare state is nonetheless the best alternative.

Strategy II: privatisation

Under this strategy the role of central and local government is reduced to a minimum and market forces assume major importance. The State is no longer the source of social provisions, its main responsibilities being defence, legislation, and maintaining order, as well as providing minimal protection for the weakest members of society.

The arguments in favour of this strategy are that a free market and an adequate individual income constitute the best recipe for a healthy economy and a system of necessary provisions. Through minimal intervention on the part of the government taxes can be reduced and incomes rise. Individual wishes can be better identified by market forces and thereby constitute a guide to social needs. The consumer's power to withdraw his or her custom is a more effective way of improving the quality of the provisions available.

### Role played by voluntary associations

The withdrawal of the State from all social provision except for the minimum required to protect the weakest gives the voluntary associations an independent role. Supporters of this strategy expect that the abolition of State paternalism will provide ordinary citizens with a strong incentive for becoming more involved in the process of shaping their society and for the growth of independent voluntary associations.

Criticism of this strategy is based on pragmatic and moral grounds. The question is whether privatisation works and what its cost is in human terms. Is there not a serious risk that present inequalities will be reinforced (think of the unemployed, the disabled or the chronically ill)? Is such a system compatible with a democratic society?

The status of voluntary associations in such a system is subordinate to commercial values. However, voluntary work also acquires a commercial value. Under privatisation it is possible that varoius types of voluntary work will be strengthened while those activities which are dependent on government support will disappear. Supply will be determined by demand.

### Strategy III: participatory pluralism

This strategy is based on the concept of the welfare state, but differs from Strategy I in the way in which policy is made and implemented. The government retains an important role in determining general socio-economic policy. The funding of general provisions remains at the same level as in the welfare state, but the power of the State is diminished by the decentralisation of policy-making and the provision of services and citizens acquire a primary role in determining policy.

Decentralisation of policy-making, powers and funds to lower-level authorities means that social provisions are more accessible to the people for whom they are intended and that users can exercise more influence on them. Funds can be spent in a more effective manner and are not only available to finance professional services but also to support the development of voluntary activities. Under this system the supply of provisions can be better geared to demand and to local circumstances.

### Role played by voluntary associations

Participatory pluralism implies the development of a more important role and higher status for voluntary work. Voluntary associations will be the partners of established state institutions and the informal sector. All these changes require a change in mentality and behaviour, and knowledge, self-confidence and the skills necessary for participation must be enhanced.

Criticism of this strategy covers a number of aspects. First of all, it is mainly aimed at effecting changes in social policy which will admittedly make the system easier to manage financially, but the question of affordability remains only partly solved. What form will the relationship with the private sector take? The discussion based on various interests regarding the degree and cost of intervention in order to regulate and monitor the system is shifted to regional and local level. The established institutions will resist any change which affects their role and function unfavourably. Decentralisation may stimulate or reinforce inequalities between various interests because the law of the jungle often prevails. Decentralisation of policy-making and responsibilities also means the decentralisation of disputes, which may become more pronounced at local level than at national level. Finally, it should be borne in mind that the degree to which voluntary associations make use of funds provided by local government also determines their degree of independence.

At the root of these strategies lie differences in political and ideological convictions with respect to reducing the role of the State, the role and degree of influence exercised by citizens, the free market, private initiative and social movements. In fact there is as yet no consensus on the renewal of the welfare state. What does exist, as noted previously, is interest in the role and significance of voluntary associations and voluntary work in general.

Voluntary associations are aware of this increasing interest from various quarters and of their importance to society. Because of their fear of exploitation (voluntary work as a cheap alternative) they are at present reinforcing their position and concentrating their forces, while at the same time asking for interest and recognition which they wish to see expressed in government policy.

The opportunities which the government has to direct the activities carried out by voluntary associations are in any case limited, in view of the fact that citizens have a free choice as to whether they undertake voluntary work or not, what type of work they do, how much time they devote to it and when they are available for it. These factors, which determine the range and quantity of voluntary work which is done, are subject to very little government influence, if at all.

In a policy which envisages a larger role for voluntary work, the government should also take into account other social trends. The trade unions, for example, are wary of developments in the direction of more unpaid and/or voluntary work. In view of the unemployment problem, they feel that the creation of salaried jobs is the first priority. The idea that various professional activities are not so specialised that they cannot be performed by volunteers is a threat to paid work. In the light of the economic situation, the question of which type of work must be carried out by salaried, professional workers and which can be done by volunteers or voluntary associations is a highly relevant one.

In a period of recession, paid employment is scarce. If the phenomenon of work was no longer linked to the question of whether remuneration is received or not, then the discussion on the subject of paid or unpaid work would no longer be conducted in terms of the one replacing the other. There are after all no objective criteria for deciding whether work should be carried out on a paid/professional basis or an unpaid/voluntary one.

A similar fear is felt by professional workers. They are now turning their attention towards the voluntary associations in order to achieve a degree of influence or control over them. The associations in their turn fear that they will indeed come under the control of professional bodies and thereby lose their independence.

The women's movement is also critical of the government's interest in voluntary work. Research has shown that the actual performance of voluntary work is mainly done by women, while men chiefly concern themselves with the organisational and administrative side. From the point of view of equal opportunities it is important that more women find paid employment. However, such work is scarce and the attempts to reduce the public spending deficit through cuts in the quaternary sector where women in particular are engaged in paid employment could mean that women will end up doing such work on an unpaid/voluntary basis.

To sum up, it can be said that government interest in voluntary associations and voluntary work represents in general a threat to a society in which there is a public spending deficit (8 % of the national income) and large-scale unemployment. In such a situation, voluntary work is largely seen as a means of reducing expenditure. The essential question, however, is whether it is realistic to expect voluntary associations to be willing or even able to make up for cuts in provisions. The assumption that voluntary work is a cheap alternative to State provisions seems to have very little basis in fact.

In the first place, what little research has been done seems to indicate that voluntary associations offer an important supplement to the social services and ensure that they are socially and financially effective. Their contribution does not therefore double the quantity of services on offer and is not a means of reducing costs. Furthermore, the use of voluntary workers also involves certain costs, such as that of supervision and other facilities.

Secondly, the assumption that professional services reduce the amount of informal provision is not absolutely certain. Research shows that the public only resort to professional services if informal assistance is insufficient. The amount of informal assistance is unlikely to grow in order to meet increasing demand (Langeveld, 1985). As pointed out earlier, the number of volunteers cannot be easily and quickly increased and furthermore, that variety of provisions on offer is dependent on the availability of suitable voluntary staff.

Potgieter's research (1985) shows, however, that the 'problem' of using volunteers in not only a question of their availability but also of a lack of appropriate support and supervision, which includes a lack of training, supervision and evaluation of workers, insufficient knowledge among professionals of the motive forces underyling voluntary work and therefore an inability to meet the expectations of volunteers in an appropriate fashion, shortcomings in the distribution of work between volunteers and professionals and a defensive attitude towards voluntary workers on the part of professionals.

Schwartz (1985) agrees with these findings and notes the open and hidden, deliberate and unconscious resistance to volunteers shown by professionals. In her view, such resistance is rooted in an inaccurate conception of the role of voluntary workers. Professional training must therefore include training in the skills necessary in order to work alongside volunteers and to approach them in a positive fashion.

## Conclusion

On the basis of the above, it can be said that voluntary work cannot be regulated by the State. It can only be indirectly encouraged through expressing in policy terms the government's esteem for such organisations and appreciation of their worth.

In view of the nature of voluntary work (own initiative, independent free choice of individual), government policy in this respect can only try to create the conditions under which voluntary work can develop and expand. This must however be done in consultation with the voluntary associations in order to avoid counterproductive effects. The government will also have to provide the necessary funds. Furthermore, the use of the media is an important instrument for informing and interesting the public in voluntary work.

At the request of Parliament (Beckers, 1979) the Netherlands Government has outlined its policy on voluntary work in three connected reports (1980, 1981 and 1982).

A special committee has also published a report on voluntary work under the auspices of the Council of Europe. The Council subsequently recommended (21 June 1985) that the governments of the Member States devote attention to voluntary work and voluntary associations (volunteer's organisation) in their policies and take suitable measures to implement such policies in line with the Council's guidelines.

The United Nations General Assembly recently accepted a resolution (February 1986) inviting governments to inaugurate an annual "International Volunteer Day for Economic and Social Development" as a means of focusing attention on the important contribution made by voluntary associations to society.

Despite these international developments, only time will tell to what extent policy recommendations and suggestions will affect socio-economic and social trends. It is therefore essential that research in the field of voluntary work provides a detailed picture of expectations, opinion and fact in order to make clearer what is likely to have a desirable effect and what not.

Diagrammatic summary of the characteristics of three alternative strategies provision

| haracteristics | Welfare state | Privitisation | Participatory pluralism |
|---|---|---|---|
| . Role of the state | Strong direction from central government. Substantial intervention in economy and social services. Local state has extensive responsibilities but very limited powers. | Strong direction from government to ensure free market forces. Minimal intervention in social policy - provides residual services for poor only. Local state small in scope, few powers. | Central government has limited scope and powers. Extensive delegation of decision making to regions and localities Local state has wide range of responsibilities and significant powers. |
| . Motive power of the system | National government professional and bureaucratic imperatives. | Free play of the market, reflecting free choice of individual citizess. | Central and local political forces; services users, other citizens, staff at all levels in services. |
| . Main providers of social services | Centralised bureaucracies; professionals. | Commercial organisations; some voluntary organisations. | Decentralised statutory services; wide range of voluntary organisations. |
| . Relationship of voluntary sector to the state | Client. | Independent. | Partner. |
| . Role of voluntary action | | | |
| ) in government | Limited: mainly through cooption or indirect representation. | Minimal because government itself has minimal scope. | Extensive. Often direct representation of user. |
| ) organised voluntary action | Supplementary to statutory system | Supplementary to the market. | Collaboration with statutory agencies; and provision of alternatives to them. |
| ) informal | Arm's length support through tax/allowances system; direct support through services. | No state support. Greater reliance on self-help. | Strong support from statutory policies: tax/allowances; interweaving of statutory and informal intervention. |

Prof. R.Hadley - Voluntary action and the state: alternative futures Paper for the Jerusalem International Conference on Voluntarism, March 17-22, 1985

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# LOCAL AUTONOMY AND LOCAL FINANCING OF VOLUNTARY ACTIVITIES

by Éva Kuti, Miklós Marschall and György Nyilas

## 1. The System and Proportions of the Financing of Culture in Hungary

In Hungary, extra-curricular culture is financed by the state budget and the contributions of the population, the economic entities and the various social and political organisations. In order to understand the possibilities (constraints and difficulties) of local financing, of local patronage, one should first be given a brief overview of the whole system of financing, with special regard to the relative shares of the various sources and forms.

It can be stated in general that the bulk of the financial burdens of extra-curricular culture (70 per cent) is shouldered by the population. This global figure, however, conceals a most variegated system of subfields. Thus, for example, the marketing of certain instruments of culture (e.g. radio, TV, records, etc.) is profitable for both the producer and the marketing body and thus it generates a significant income for the state as well. On the other hand, the contributions of the population cover a tiny proportion only of the expenditures of libraries, museums and archives, and even in the case of theatres, for example, they do not exceed 20 per cent.

In most cases, the population contributes to the financing of culture through its purchases. Apart from that, citizens may occasionally contribute to the establishment and operation of cultural institutions and to the organisation of cultural programmes in kind, with donations or voluntary work, or they may support certain creative or performing artists directly, by starting funds for example.

The sums granted by the state budget (covering c. 27 per cent of all extra-curricular cultural expenditures) are allocated in a much more complicated way, through a multi-channel system. Some cultural institutions (such as the Hungarian Radio and Television) receive their subsidies directly from the budget, but, in most cases, subsidies go a long way before they reach their destination through the Ministry for Culture and Education or the other competent ministries in the case of organisations of a national importance and through the county and local councils in the case of county-level institutions.

Most Hungarian cultural institutions are budget-financed. That is, they are not profit-oriented: they rely on their fixed budget when financing the tasks set to them or undertaken by themselves. Depending on the nature of the institution in question, it either covers practically all its expenses from the central resources allocated to it (e.g. museums) or subsidies cover a part only of its budget and the rest is to be produced by the institution itself (as in the case of culture houses).

Besides the partial or full financing of budget-financed cultural institutions, the state also gives support to cultural institutions functioning as enterprises. The enterprise status implies that, similarly to all other enterprises in the productive or services sector, the institution (a film studio, a recording company or a publishing house, for example) is acting on its own; it is much more independent of the state both financially and as regards its sphere of operation than the budget-financed institutions. Of course, the activity of these enterprises is facilitated by a series of tax preferences and, moreover, the state allocates direct support as well to the loss-making cultural enterprises (e.g. publishing houses, film studios). Moreover, there exists an economic means allowing to enforce the preferences of cultural policy, the so-called cultural contribution paid by all cultural enterprises after their marketable cultural products and services of a poor artistic quality.

State support to culture is not necessarily mediated by cultural institutions, it may be direct as well, as in the case of the tied subsidies allocated to various cultural projects, programmes or to amateur movements. Another direct form of resource allocation in the field of culture is the establishment of prizes, and the system of scholarships and competitions for creative artists. State orders and purchases represent a considerable part of the income of artists. The most important mediator of state aid to creative artists is the Cultural Fund of the Hungarian People's Republic. State assistance may take the most diverse forms, from the maintenance of rest-houses, flats and collective studios for artists, through the various prizes, competitions and scholarships to the extension of advances and aid. The third source of the financing of culture (less significant than the previous two because it covers a few per cents only of the total costs) is the cultural contribution of enterprises and of the various social organisations. Enterprises in the productive and the services sectors constitute a tax-free welfare and culture fund out of their profits (c. Ft 1000/worker), and use a certain proportion of it to assist their own cultural projects, the continuing education of their employee and various other cultural institutions. Enterprises often lend a hand to cultural institutions by offering them contributions in kind (transport and maintenance facilities, the modernisation of their equipment, etc.).

The list of social organisations is headed by the various artistic associations specialised on the management of artists and the safeguarding of their interests.

Trade unions also occupy an outstanding position in providing assistance to culture. Most culture houses are under trade union management and a considerable number of the cultural programmes are also organised by the trade unions. The contributions of the other social and political organisations vary greatly in function of the nature and scope of their activity.

Finally, mention should be made of assistance from abroad. Hungarians living outside the borders assist Hungarian culture partly by purchases and partly by their donations, funds and scholarships and the enrichment of Hungarian public collections.

## 2. Structural constraints of the local financing of culture*

The country-wide system of the financing of culture, the allotment of the various resources, is greatly modified by settlement development policy: the smaller, the less important a settlement, the smaller its budget share and, moreover, as a result of industry location policy, the less it benefits from the taxes of the enterprises and the other economic entities. This situation is further aggravated by the difficult economic situation of the country (even the implementation of declared priority objectives comes up against financial difficulties) and the scarcity of the liquid purchasing power of the population. As a result, the importance of alternative resources is on the rise: local funding, especially enterprise patronage, take up an ever more important position by the side of the central subsidies.

There are various direct and indirect factors which hinder or promote the local - alternative - financing of culture.

Indirect constraints include the necessity to eliminate communal, infrastructural, shortages: it is in the interest of both the settlement and its economic entities to retain the labour force (the inhabitants) and to develop and condition their sense of local identity. If there is no crèche, no kindergarten, the possibilities of prime and ongoing education are bad, if the programmes of culture and entertainment fail to meet the demand and the basic needs of the population remain unsatisfied, there is good reason to fear discontent and labour's propensity to move away. The elimination of the shortages generated by structural factors (central redistribution, the general neglect of the infrastructure, etc.) is greatly hindered by the unfavourable economic and financial situation of the country and the scarcity of resources. These are general, country-wide problems; the schedule of shortage elimination, on the other hand, is obviously a function of the local conditions determining what should be given preference and what can be neglected, i.e. what is worth

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*The structural model described here is based on our experiences gained at towns Kiskunhalas and Nagykanizsa.

worth fighting for and what is not. Although the identification of priorities is influenced by general "diverting" constraints that are valid everywhere (e.g.) investment project clusters, legal regulations), these latter may be overruled, postponed or rescheduled in function of the interests of the local mangement, of the local balance of power. Whether a given settlement will construct a sewerage system, a school, a culture house or a library depends, among other things, on what the local management considers important or even imperative, on what interests it represents. If, for example, they wish to tie the local intelligentsia and the qualified labour to their settlement, they are bound to give priority to the specific demand of the social strata in question (to the detriment of the other strata if necessary). This is the reason why in Hungary well and poorly endowed housing districts exist side by side, and why there are representative institutions which, in most cases, satisfy certain stratum-specific needs only.

The financing of shortage elimination brought to the surface and arranged into a hierarchical order by the indirect constraints is supported by various durect constraints: the council, for example, receives a "head tax" for the allocation of kindergarten space or licensing an enterprise in the productive sector to "name a tenant". That is, on paying the council a sum of Ft 10 000 to 15 000, the enterprise will receive a crèche or kindergarten place to be used by its employees.

A similar system prevails in the other main shortage area, that of the dwellings: in return for an enterprise payment of Ft 80-100 000, one enterprise employee will be given a state flat. Although the transaction is completely illegal, both parties are compelled to take part in it. Moreover, it is beneficial to all concerned: the council gets the money it needs and the enterprise may elevate its welfare standards (by securing a crèche or kindergarten place or a dwelling for its employees). However, activities with little or no preference may also join the circle of direct constraints, for example through the compulsory backing of quasi-institutionalised national or county-wide campaigns.

Of course, a clever local management will seize every opportunity to expand its development funds (all the more so since shortages are felt in practically all the areas), even if that means resolving problems of secondary importance that figure somewhere at the end of their "development list". Thus, for example, the subsidised construction of culture centres in the 1970s led to their country-wide proliferation. (The fact that culture houses became representative palaces of culture, while some schools were in such a bad state that they represented a danger to life, while sewerage systems got ruined and some periferies were extremely poorly supplied is a separate issue reflecting the anomalies of the regulations and of the system of values.)

Some managers in "strong positions" may include non-preferential tasks, too, in the plans of development.

The impact of the constraints generated by structural shortages, branch campaigns, or the pressure exerted by the top management are often seriously weakened by constraints of another type that come through other channels - the compulsion to observe the regulations and rules issued by the enterprises and the councils. That is, one must not spend money on certain things, not even if that were quite feasible. Thus, normative regulation may also be considered a factor of direct constraint, because it often narrows down the field to some very expensive development alternatives and thus the settlements that are incapable of establishing institutions that would meet the requirements have to renounce necessary development as well (if, for example, they have not got enough money for a building with the required cubic capacity and ground space).

However, the structural shortages (urgent problems as they are) and the direct constraints often urge to transcend the barriers ("it has got to be solved somehow"), pushing problem resolution into the illegal sphere. The system of illegal, semi-legal or hidden subsidies has become the generally accepted norm by now; its elimination would cause serious problems in the life of Hungarian settlements.

Legal and illegal enterprise subsidies are limited by the adverse shifts in the conditions of economic management and the unhealthy relation of the cooperating partners: the requesting party is in a difficult and embarrassing position, because it has got "scrounge" money and aid for communal purposes, while the granting party is irritated by the fact that too many institutions try to assuage their worries at its expense without offering any useful services in return.

Constraints and limitations define the range of possibilities together; the various spheres both mobilise and limit one another (thus, for instance, a bad economic and financial situation produces structural shortages whose elimination is hindered by the system of economic regulations, but, under the impact of the prevailing direct constraints, some of the problems get resolved, even if that means transferring them to the illegal sphere). The personality, diplomatic sensitivity and lobbying capacity, the frame of mind and personal commitments of the leaders representing the local strivings and interests are most important factors of this dynamism.

The structural model of the financing of culture can be summed up as follows:

direct
Constraints: structural shortages
forms: demand-satisfying, representative, quasi-demand-satisfying
Opportunities: illegal mobilisation of financial means (materials, machinery, labour)
forms: bookkeeping tricks, transfer of products
Limitations: overall economic and financial situation, scarcity of resources

indirect
Constraints: legal regulations (laws, decrees), branch campaigns, direct council or party interference, discontent of the population
Opportunities: investment project clusters, legal mobilisation of financial means (machinery, labour)
forms: transfer of allocated funds, reallocation of funds (coordination), voluntary work, publicity, welfare and culture fund
Limitations: lack of enterprise and council autonomy
forms: economic regulations at the enterprise, at the council

The scarcity of council resources, a result of several external factors, has brought about or extorted several methods and procedures to uncover some additional resources and to mobilise the local forces to eke out the shortfall against the cash sums that used to be guaranteed centrally.

The coordinative relations established with the local economic organisations are meant to fulfil such a resource-substituting function. At Nagykanizsa, for example, in the 6th five-year-plan period, 31 per cent of the council's development fund was made up by the monetary means transferred by the enterprise. Without this transfer of the allocated funds, one third of the town's development projects ought to have been cancelled.

Voluntary work by the enterprises, institutions and the population amounted to even more than that at Ft 270 million. As is well-known, this is one of the fields where compulsion has wiped out volunteering: for lack of a better alternative, this is the only feasible way of supplying the missing public provisions and other services.

The practice of paying for development out of the renovation fund also belongs here by function, albeit into another category by nature and significance. The "eking out" of the development funds has its advantages in the short run, but, paradoxically, it results in a further narrowing down of council resources in the long run, as renovation funds cannot be activated, they do not increase the gross fixed-asset value and thus the renovation set-aside has to be dispensed with.

As can be seen from the above, the increasing importance of enterprise contribution is quite natural in view of the general scarcity and the chronic lack of resources. Although enterprise contribution is not restricted to the field of culture, being much more pronounced in the investment into dwellings and utilities than in the expansion of the cultural institutions network, its order of magnitude warrants a separate analysis.

## 3. The Culture-Financing Possibilities of the Enterprise

It seems palpable to start the investigation of the cultural activity of the enterprise by discussing the motives. This is all the more important since motives are usually masked by the culture-at-the-workplace slogans that had been worn to commonplaces by today, and that eclipse and consequently make opaque, impracticable and unmanageable the interests, considerations and constraints in the background of enterprise decisions concerning the financing of culture.

The most obvious goal and motive of an active and far-reaching enterprise policy of subsidisation of culture is to attract the labour and hold on to it, to make the employee identify with the enterprise. Kindergarten and school facilities, a well-equipped and prosperous youth club, a successful sports team, some well-organised excursions and, indirectly, caregiving to old age pensioners may all be important factors of loyality to one's employer. If the striving to hold on to labour is combined with managerial flexibility, a sensitive reaction to their needs and a democratic atmosphere, cultural activity will not be considered a nuisance, but a more or less organic constituent of enterprise life.

However, at present, the establishment of such a (close-to-ideal) situation is ab ovo prevented by the multitude of cultural tasks foisted on the enterprise. The motives of holding on to labour, the striving of the enterprise to tie down a workforce by providing extra services of a higher-than-average standard are all in vain if, as a result of the chronic shortage situation, the bulk of their cultural resources is absorbed by the tasks foisted on them by the state budget. So long as access to kindergarten and school, a citizen's right in principle, can only be assured by the contribution of the enterprise, so long as the subsidies granted to the institutions of socio-cultural animation, maintained by the state in principle, are reversed, at least partly, on the enterprise, it will obviously have a very small amount of resources left over to implement a cultural policy of its own. Constraints originate at various (national, county, local) levels, they are mediated by various institutions (party, council, authorities, cultural institutions), they may take various forms (statutory provision, directive, blackmail, request) and their strength depends on the position of the enterprise in question, too.

The position of the enterprise is closely linked to the personal position of its managers in the corridors of power. At this point, we have to include in our study of the various motivating forces the subjective element, i.e. the individual value systems, loyalties and commitments of those who are responsible for the decisions concerning the financing of culture.

Finally, mention should be made of another indirect motive, the partial or total lack of motives. It is not a rare occurrence that none of the motives listed in the above play a significant part in enterprise decisions concerning the financing of culture. In such cases, decision-makers adopt a reactive attitude, meeting - or not meeting - the requirements and requests on the agenda in a casual way, without having a conception of their own, as they see fit in the given circumstances.

The order of magnitude of enterprise subsidies is defined, besides the motives and intentions, by the amount of the available resources to uese for this purpose. The first of the resources that come into question is the welfare and cultural fund constituted for this very purpose. Its constitution is obligatory to all autonomous economic entities. However, since the enterprise centre is entitled to distribute this fund - calculated in function of the total number of employees - among the plants and factories belonging to it at its discretion, there is absolutely no guarantee for an unit to receive a fund that is proportional to the number of its employees.

Not only the constitution, but the allocation, too, of the welfare and cultural fund is problematic. Although enterprise spendings on welfare and culture, financed from other sources as well, exceed by far the limits of the fund, a significant part of the fund (40-50 per cent) is left over usually. The reason why we think this fact deserves being mentioned is not so much the order of magnitude of this sum (smaller residues are known to exist at other enterprises as well), than the fact that it indicates the casual nature of its allocation. Although under the standing provisions the allocation of the fund falls within the competence of the trade union committee, in most cases decisions are taken individually, not by a committee. Sometimes the decision-maker is the secretary of the trade union committee, but it happens quite frequently that the requests of the various institutions (town council, house of culture, sports circles, etc.) appealing to the enterprise for help are okeyed or renounced by a member of the enterprise leadership (the director or the chief accountant, for example). The casuality of decision-making is a direct consequence of the uncertainty concerning the person(s) of the decision-maker(s). Each enterprise has a different way of determining what is to be considered social or cultural expenditure, and how (on what items, in what proportions) they should use the welfare and cultural fund. It is quite characteristic that enterprise accounts on the use of the welfare and cultural fund cannot be arranged into a single table and that during our investigations we hardly ever met anyone who seemed competent in questions relating to the allocation of the fund, and even more seldom could we discern a definite allocation policy in the background of the decisions.

A frequent form of subsidising culture and one that is most advantageous to the enterprise is to account for cultural spendings from the expenditures, because this allows to include the higher costs incurred that way in the prices and thus to shift the burdens of subsidising culture onto the purchaser.

A discussion of the financing of culture by the enterprise must include financial contributions of the trade unions as well. Although these do not represent a big share of all cultural spendings, they play a most significant part in financing certain types of cultural expenditures (maintenance of trade union libraries, financing of various programmes, etc.).

## 4. In lieu of a summary

All in all, our investigation results suggest that the question whether the material, financial, conditions of the evolution of local culture, a most important component of town or village life, are given at present, is to be answered in the negative. The main reason for this state of affairs is not so much the shortage of monetary resources, as the fact that the evolution of a democratic and efficient town community of interest is greatly hindered by the prevailing institutional, economic and financial conditions and regulations.

Given the present proportions of central radistribution and the "truening" that goes with it, neither the council, nor the economic entity is in a position allowing them to patronise local culture. The reserves of the council apparatus are exhausted by its attempts to make the present institutional system function smoothly and to obtain additional resources, and thus it does not have many opportunities to launch an offensive local cultural policy of its own. Moreover, the real forums of "local society" are missing as yet, the same as local publicity that would allow the council to perceive the various social interest groups of the town and the changes of public opinion resulting from their competition, and thus make these groups a political power to be taken into account.

As it is well-known, enterprise autonomy has serious limits. It is also common knowledge that, in this sophisticated system of dependences, the enterprise is least dependent on the town. Therefore, it is very difficult to develop a sense of local identity at the enterprise.

This is the reason why the relationship of the two organisations, the council and the enterprise (both in a dependent position), most important from the point of view of town life, is characterised by a temporary and forced interdependence rather than a lasting and positive community of interests based on the interests of the settlement.

As can be seen, both the prevailing taxation system and the coordinative allocations have failed to bring about the desired community of interests. Both are regulated from above in a way that does not allow much ground for autonomous aciton.

Enterprises cannot act as patrons of culture (enjoying all the advantages such a role might mean for their prestige and the image of the enterprise) when they finance a town project: they complement the state budget, they act as a local body supplementing the necessary resources, a task ordered by the state. As a result of thishand-stand division of labour, enterprises can be held responsible politically for the fulfilment of tasks that have always been associated with the state (or the council, or the budget), such as the construction and development of urban infrastructure.

Small wonder that enterprises consider even their par excellence patronising functions, such as assistance to the local theatre, a constraint. And, of course, this state of affairs slurs the chances of local culture in the competition waged for the enterprise resources. The compulsory cultural contributions of the enterprise, the constitution of its welfare and cultural fund, is rather fragmented and they are often allocated without consulting with experts in the name of a "culture-at-the-workplace" ideology that has never been explained in explicit terms in the first place and contains several obsolete elements.

That is, local culture profits very little from the sums in question. However, recalling the fact that in 1983 the expenditures of the Nagykanizsa enterprises on culture in the narrow sense made up Ft 4.6 million, as against a council budget of culture of Ft 12 million (that is, they equalled 38 per cent of the latter sum), it becomes quite evident that enterprise contributions might provide an extraordinary chance for local culture.

The above problems could be solved by a rationalisation programme including the improvement of the system of taxation (expansion of the council's right to impose taxes), the encouragement of local small enterprises (that would provide an additional source of income), the use of the savings of the population, the initiation of local banking activity and the establishment of an independent and public town fund, that is, a programme financed jointly by the council, the inhabitants and the enterprises. In our opinion, the financing, i.e. the monetary aspect, of the establishment of the desired and indispensable town (local) community of interest could be promoted by such solutions and their like.

# THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF VOLUNTARY, SOCIAL ACTIVITY AS IT APPEARS IN THE CURRICULA OF ADULT EDUCATORS

by Andor Maróti

The university training of adult educators poses two constant problems. One is related to the fact that those who go to university right after having finished secondary school have no experience whatsoever of educational practice and management, and, therefore, their theoretical studies result in a purely verbal knowledge that can hardly be adapted to the evaluative analysis of phenomena. This problem can be solved by making students carry out target-oriented investigations from the very beginning of their university career, to be followed by practical exercises teaching them to "perceive" the medium of their future activity, a medium that can by no means be understood thoroughly without the guidance of theory.

The second problem causes even more serious worries: students initiated into the practice of socio-cultural animation meet with its actual state only -- as for the antecedents, they either ignore them completely, most of them being too young to have had any personal experiences of the period in question, or they only know it from books. Consequently, they tend to regard reality as they perceive it a constant, disregarding the fact that it contains various elements of previous *praxis*.

Theory conceives of reality as a process; its conclusions to be applied to practice take into account the inertia moment, too -- this is the guarantee of their objectivity and moderateness. Theory also takes into account the fact that change depends on the given circumstances and, therefore, practice cannot be regenerated arbitrarily; moreover, since change is a resultant of various human activities, its direction depends to a great extent on the human objectives and intentions involved and on their social relevance.

Young people seem to have difficulties identifying with this attitude which goes beyond their scope and their manifold of experience. They either consider the prognosis of theory primitive and retrograde or, on the contrary, they deem it illusory and much too idealistic. In the first case, they insist on the necessity of much more radical innovations and consider it superfluous to bother with refuted views and obsolete forms of behaviour. Their unconcern for the past is best indicated by their categoric refusal to study those items of the list of recommended critical literature that are older than 5-10 years, which they consider obsolete and, as such, devoid of all interest. The second, apparently contradictory stance feeds on the same ahistorical thinking; it preaches that since reality cannot be altered, its changes being fully independent of human will, it is futile to contemplate the alteration of the given circumstances and the same goes for the cultural programmes associated with such efforts. They are of the opinion that the only viable option is the investigation and registration of social facts: only the present can be explored and understood. It follows from this "positivist" standpoint that the only theory they find acceptable is that of empirical sociology, restricted to the registration of facts and their comparative and quantitative analysis, and renouncing the inverstigation of their roots and evolutionary trends.

It is our firm belief that training has to be markedly historical with a view to dismantling these mental barriers. Historical in the sense that problems should be explained by looking at their genesis, by pointing out those elements of past praxis that they carry in themselves, not that the events of the past are to be taught. Thus students will master a fundamental methodological principle, i.e. the progress-oriented presentation of problems, an indispensable element of modern thinking.

An appropriate example is furnished by one of the topical problems of our days, i.e. the stengthening of social voluntaryism and the parallel mitigation of the bureaucratic constraints hindering this process. We are convinced that this opposition cannot be grasped in terms of logic (i.e. good and bad, correct and incorrect, etc.). If one accepts the fact that the factors determining social practice are embedded in the changing scenery of reality, it follows that this problem cannot be solved satisfactorily without a thorough knowledge of its historical background. In the following, we shall give a brief account of the main stages of the "background" development of education in order to show the "Wahlverwandungschaften" at work in the various development alternatives of voluntary social activity in Hungary.

## Historical conclusions

The first phase of extra-curricular education (i.e. the last quarter of the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th centry) was determined by the idea that the propagation of culture and the elevation of those whose standards of living and culture are low is the duty of the intelligentsia. However, despite some significant initiatives, public education remained a rather isolated sphere of activity, playing a marginal role only in culture in general. This was partly due to the fact that the intelligentsia failed to identify with the informative-instructive role of public education and partly to the fact that the uneducated found the cultural values offered to them - and defined from the intelligentsia's viewpoint - devoid of all interest and alien to them.

State-controlled public education between the two world wars provided basic education and strove to win over the culturally backward to the cause of the established power with the help of ideological--political indoctrination, and met with a similar fate. This is explained by the fact that, after the first world war, the liberal--bourgeois regime of the previous era was replaced by the short-lived (four-month-long) workers' regime led by the Communist Party, and the conservative forces overthrowing it considered public education a suitable means for winning the sympathies of the peasants against the workers. Their ideology was based on nationalism, as opposed to the internationalism of the labour parties, all the more so since the Peace Treaty after World War I annexed two thirds of the Hungarian territories to the neighbouring countries, a historical fact that provided a good occasion to refer all domestic problems of Hungarian society to the wrongs done to the national interests and to make the struggle of the working class appear as a disruptive endeavour aimed at betraying national unity.

As a matter of fact, the nationalistic concept of patriotism was not fully effectless as far as the "national education" project of the regime was concerned. Efforts to get the chosen cultural goods adopted met with less success. This was due to the low living and economic standards of the bulk of the peasantry that impeded the evolution of the demand for "high culture". Moreover, the existence of traditional folklore made urban culture superfluous in the rural communities, and although it did exert some influence later on through the press, the radio and the cinema, village communities adopted the inferior products of mass culture only. The most significant achievements of contemporary public education were related to the high-quality farmers' courses propagating up-to-date agricultural know-how that were both popular and useful. Their success should have warned the managers of educational policy that training can only be effective if it is adjusted to the life-style and practical needs of the target population. However, this was not realised as a general principle. Both the popularising and emancipatory endeavours associated with the early phase of bourgeois development and the state-controlled voluntary public education of the successive phase set out to enforce "high culture" on the people from outside and above.

In the field of public education, voluntaryism was simply non-existent. True, the educated bourgeois circles had their own cultural associations, but as a result of the weakness of bourgeois development in Hungary, such organisations existed only in some of the bigger towns, and their activity affected relatively few people. The labour movement, on the other hand, subordinated culture to political struggle and to the defence of economic interests. Moreover, tight police surveillance put serious constraints on cultural initiatives as well. In the given circumstances, the so-called workers' homes had to concentrate on social life and entertainment above all; the objectives of instruction and orientation were served by the papers and books to be found on their premises and the occasional seminars, mainly illegal ones, treating topical social problems. Workers' artistic groups (choirs, amateur drama companies, artistic circles, etc.) enhanced communal feelings and expressed the wish of the participants to pursue cultural activities together.

The situation was similar in the bodies of village artisans, the peasant reading circles and the church-sponsored organisations gathering the rural youth, with the difference that the oppositionary stance was lacking in their case.

It was essentially this type of collective social activity which gathered momentum in the years after World War II, when democratic development, to be realised by a coalition of left-wing parties, was put on the agenda. In the period between 1945 and 1948, "public education" was replaced by "free education", which was considered the democratic form of voluntary social activity. Besides encouraging the association initiatives, this trend contributed to the propagation of foreign models aimed at a development of communal influence (folk high school colleges, for example). The campaign for free education relied on the parties, the churches and the various cultural organizations.

With the introduction of the one-party system after the political turn of events the situation was altered. The new regime advocating socialist ideals criticised free education on three main points: bacause of its liberalism, bacause of the significant role assigned to the churches and because of its peasant-orientation with the concomitant emphasis on folklore. True, coalition policy was marked by free-thinking from the very start, but it is equally true that it gave the green light only to trends subscribing to the ideals of popular democratic regeneration. Since the churches expressed their wish to contribute to this transformation, they could not be excluded when it came to the tasks of society building, expecially not in the field of culture where both their activity and impact were obviously the strongest. Peasant-orientation, on the other hand, resulted from a division of labour in contemporary public education: trade unions displayed their activity in the plants, among the workers; the administration had to content itself with the rural population and the urban bourgeoisie. Moreover, the programme of free education was formulated by intellectuals gathering around the Peasant Party and proclaiming that the new, democratic culture was to evolve out of the specifically Hungarian popular (folkloristic) traditions. However, free education was replaced by a socialist system branding this conception romantic, idealistic and nationalistic, and pointing out that it bore a strong resemblance to the discredited ideology of the feudal and capitalist regimes. Interestingly enough, no one bothered to notice that the new trend (replacing free education with public education once more) was rather similar to the conception of the regime overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat after World War I with its tendency to centralise and put ideological and political education into the foreground. True, both its content and professed objective were different. The socialist social system launched a cultural revolution with the corresponding institutional network assuring the widespread propagation of cultural goods. One of its goals was to put an end to the cultural monopoly of the ruling classes of the previous regime, and turn cultural products into common goods. Cultural policy gave top priority to the training of the working and peasant youth at the higher grades of public education so that socialism might have its own new intelligentsia. Schools were opened up to the working adults; although the practice of afterhours and correspondence courses dates from the coalition era, after 1949 the emphasis fell on stimulating the ongoing education of as many people as possible. Mass ideological and political education was introduced at work.

Another objective was to endow each settlement and each of the bigger organisations with a library and a communal centre or hall suited to the needs of cultural programmes. Museums and theatres were to organise travelling exhibitions and tours respectively, and occasionally short-film projections had to be organised at places where it was not possible to have a cinema. The whole era was characterised by a single striving: mass impact. The internal division of the culture houses provides eloquent illustration to this fact: the centre of activity was the main hall with a stage for the various programmes and political and scientific lectures. This structure reflects the prevailing conception of the propagation of culture. The basic attitude in those years was determined by a "we give, they buy" type of relation, despite the outstanding role of amateur artistic companies, for their activity, too, centered on stage performance, on providing their audience with a cultural experience, rather than on the cultural education of their members, on refining their tastes and culture.

Another indication of the significance attached to mass impact is that the results of the "cultural revolution" were measured by statistical data. The most important thing was the number of programmes, the number of participants and the number of the regular members of courses, artistic groups and study circles. The primary objective was the spreading of socialist cultural values; absorption efficiency was considered irrelevant. Although the participants of cultural programmes were mostly present as mere onlookers, contemporary public education was termed a "social movement": programme management was relegated to workers and peasants above all; as for the intelligentsia, only a certain section of village teachers was considered trustworthy enough to be involved. Of course, the rest also had to play a part in the propagation of cultural goods, but, being excluded from the local management of programmes, their higher educational level had no influence whatsoever on the choice of the values to be propagated. Consequently, the main criterion was the political--instructive impact of cultural values. Of the achievements of the past, only the ones expressing social progress and projecting a revolutionary stance were considered acceptable.

As a matter of fact, neither was the activity of local cultural managers truly autonomous, because in this centralised system, both the goals and the tasks of the mediation of culture were defined centrally, too; their choice was limited to methods of implementation. This is one of the reasons why they could do without a higher level of education, without any special training in socio-cultural animation; a manager's routine and skills were enough. As a result of the central definition of goals, local needs could not manifest themselves; the scope of autonomous initiatives was very limited (expect in case they coincided with the national trends). For the sake of ideological and political unity, cultural policy assumed that cultural needs formed a homogeneous entity. This intention is the only explanation why, after the establishment of socialist public education, the system of workers' homes as well as the reading circles and folk high schools of the poor peasantry were dissolved together with the other cultural associations. A uniform system of institutions was required, which they thought to realise in the form of a network of culture houses which allowed relatively little ground for voluntary social activity. From the very beginning, these institutions had a social leadership as well, but that consisted of representatives of the state, party and trade union management and of members of the mass organisations and, moreover, its members could only express their views à propos projects drafted independently by the professional staffs of the institutions in question. The "formal" participation of the social forces in the process of decision making was meant as another indication of the movement status of public education. Educational management, which actually mobilised great masses of people, was not education-oriented: its main objective was to demonstrate the fact that culture found its way to ever more people who evinced a genuine and regular need for it.

As a result of the 1956 events and their lessons, the above-described educational policy was to altered. The 1958 directives of educational policy stated that the shaping of consciousness and the Marxist world view supported by up-to-date knowledge are necessary prerequisites of the victory of socialism. One might be tempted to say that there is nothing new in this compared to the objectives proclaimed previously, but a thorough analysis reveals a shift of emphasis to the social medium receiving culture. And, although in this context the social medium is considered a passive element as yet, to be reshaped by the competent agents of education, the fact that the fifferentation of social consciousness and the various approaches to it were put on the agenda from that time on indicated that the endeavours at creating a homogeneous society had been discarded. The necessity of considering the needs figured more and more frequently in the various statements, to an extent that some already spoke of the reign of liberalism in culture. However, this new approach was not exceptional: a similar change occurred in the economy as well. In the first half of the 1950s, heavy industry was given most assistance to assure the industrial development of this basically agricultural country. Meanwhile, both light industry and agriculture were neglected and the development of infrastructure stagnated. As a result, the standards of living deterioreted and that, in turn, triggered the discontent of the population. Therefore, from the end-1950s on, the primary objective was to raise the standards of living which, however, could only be realised by giving more ground to local initiatives beside the satisfaction of the various consumers' needs. Accordingly, the decentralisation of economy was started; stratum and group interests were enforced to a growing extent, and that necessarily raised the demand to develop political democracy as well. Economy played a leading part in this process but, for quite a long time, economic and political approaches to social problems were considered contradictory alternatives which led to an overemphasis of one or the other.

The increased satisfaction of demands was charged with similar contradictions in the field of culture, too. In the early 1960s, Hungarian reviews launched a debate on the petit beourgeois mentality, a term used to indicate the phenomenon, ever more frequent in certain social strata, when people consider "looting" and enjoying life the exclusive aims of life. It was quite natural for a labour- and social-life-oriented moral system to consider this attitude outrageous and to criticise both the acquisition of material goods and hedonism most sharply. Others, however, adopted a more tolerant attitude in this respect, stating that both acquisition and the enjoyment of life were part and parcel of human existence, to be condemned only in case they became exclusive aims in life. Moreover, they considered it natural that, after periods when few only had access to welfare and when, in the early phase of socialism, poverty was declared to be the only morally desirable state, catching up was an absolute necessity and, therefore, the spreading of goods in general use in the economically advanced countries was to be assisted.

In culture, this attitude implied that if certain strata evinced no need for culture, if they only sought light entertainment, that, too, was to be accepted. Given this state of affairs, the standards of education had to be investigeted and cultural demands be given more emphasis. Simultaneously, public education was to acquire firm cultural-sociological foundations, and the cultural market was to be diversified. However, owing to the extensiveness of public education (i.e. the fact that it aimed at the most widespread possible propagation of culture), this trend did not result in a more realistic development of demand; the most it could achieve was to reduce the divergences of supply and demand. Consequently, "consciousness shaping" had to be discarded, and the fact that the conditions of living determine the nature of cultural demand more than anything else accepted in its place.

By the 1960s, with TV's sudden country-wide spreading, the critical state of public education had become quite evident. Television had a much more pronounced mass impact than any of the other cultural institutions; moreover, its editorial staff, free from the traditions of public education, could set out to satisfy the most general mass-scale cultural demands besides broadcasting information. Of course, they, too, had to take into account the differentiatedness of cultural demand, which was all the more difficult since, at the beginning, there was one channel only. This problem was solved by "time-sharing": the programmes for schoolchildren and for pensioners were broadcast in the morning and early in the afternoon; the informative programmes tackling the most diverse issues followed later on in the evening, and the time between the successive editions of the evening news was filled with light programmes (mostly films). The important artistic and scholarly programmes, whose target population was the intelligentsia above all, were broadcast late at night. That is, the best programme period was reserved for entertainment; the staff professed that the only realistic programme policy is the one aiming at the satisfaction of mass demand. TV was often criticised for the inferior quality of its light programmes (radio, on the contrary, set much higher standards to its services). The Department of Light Programmes put down criticism to the aristocratism of elite culture and felt entitled to ignore it.

The dominance of TV over the leisure of people made culture houses (renamed "education houses" in the meanwhile) look for new approaches. Here, too, entertainment got full rights: the main task was to organise hobby-centred circles and to create arenas for social life. Circles and clubs of this kind were actually founded, especially among the youth. At the beginning, youth clubs held considerable attraction, but in a few years' time it turned out that their programme was rather monotonous: it was restricted to "loud" entertainment, pop and disco music and dance. The spreading of alcoholism also caused trouble frequently. Pensioners' clubs also became quite popular and, althought their activity was of a more quiet sort, they, too, mostly struck to entertainment, card playing, chess, embroidery, etc. The highest-quality programmes were organised by the intellectuals' clubs, which, however, often provoked the distrust of the local political management: at best, they were condemned for their "cliquism", an aristocratic isolation from the other social strata, but at times they were accused of oppositionary behaviour. Althought these reactions were evidently an aftermath of the dogmatism of the 1950s, they discouraged initiatives all the same. Consequently, most of these clubs whithered away after a relatively short period. Another factor contributing to this process was that, as a result of the greater economic problems of the seventies, the middle-aged disposed of less and less leisure, and overtime work, the only alternative if one wished to maintain and even improve the rapidly growing living standards of the sixties, became a characteristic feature of Hungarian society at about that time. Ironically enough, the "cultured use of leisure" campaign of public education coincided with a social-scale decrease of leisure, despite the fact that the working hours decreased from a weekly 48 to 44 hours and then the switch-over to the 40-hours week began. Beside voluntary overtime work, there was another decisive mass-scale phenomenon determining the way people spent their leisure: many families bought weekend plots and/or houses in the countryside or in the resort areas and, consequently, a considerable number of the urban dwellers spent the weekend - mostly with work - from early spring to end-autumn on their own property. The rest of the week was taken up by the various problems and tasks of work, family and living to such an extent that only the children, the youth and the old had leisure at all.

In the early 1970s, this leisure-oriented public education was renamed "socio-cultural animation", to indicate a shift of emphasis from the elevation of the culturally backward to the relation of society as a whole to culture. Moreover, education, instruction and even the propagation of culture were no longer considered decisive goals -- they were replaced by education in the sense of the acquisition of culture, and its adaptation to behaviour, life-style, activity, thinking and human relations. This, of course, required the development of a novel attitude on the part of those who wished to take part in the management of culture -- a more profound knowledge of man and society, a more thorough understanding of the processes of education and the identification of the possibilities of interference with a view to develop the quality of demand. Although the share of voluntary social activity was expected to rise, the animation, management and co-ordination of the various initiatives required high-level expertise that could not be acquired by frequenting short-term courses, only by long-term university training offering a thorough scientific grounding. In Hungary, the university training of socio-cultural animators started in the early 1960s; in the 1970s, the demand for professional animators increased; the present tendency is to make formation a necessary prerequisite of fulfilling socio-cultural animation jobs.

## Topical realisations

As a result of the elevation of the standards of socio-cultural animation, the idea that culture is not restricted to the circle of spiritual goods but permeates everyday life, economy, public life and politics, too, also gained ground. It follows from this conception that the various spheres of social life must not be isolated from each other, and culture should not be examined on its own. Moreover, culture should by no means be conceived of solely throught its material products -- the human activities of which they are the outcome should also be given due emphasis. If culture is measured by the quality of the activities associated to it, this will exclude the possibility of its being considered a luxury, a leisure activity at best, that is completely independent of practice. Since the problems of education originate in its practice, it is of decisive importance to what extent socio-cultural animation will be considered a common cause, i.e. to what extent the realisation that the solution of problems related to life-style, economy, public life or politics is a function of the development of public education will become an accepted fact. At present, economists, politicians and sociologists are ever more strongly convinced that this is the only alternative if we wish to eliminate the economic crisis phenomena and widen the democracy of public life. Ironically enough, it is the experts of culture in the narrow sense (artists, scientists, etc.) who seem to find it most difficult to accept that, without the development of socio-cultural animation, their own activity, too, will be sentenced to rootlessness. As of now, they only complain of inadequate management, without realising that management can only improve if the level of social demand is raised first, a process to which they should contribute themselves. It is true all the same that so long as socio-cultural management is considered a marginal sphere and voluntary social activity does not gather strenght, this idea is bound to lie fallow.

The topical issue of our days, i.e. whether we should democratise culture or create the democratism of culture instead, will provoke nothing but quibbling unless the social role of culture, the part it plays in individual life, is clarified first; unless we demonstrate the fact that culture is an indispensable element of human life. Social voluntaryism, on the other hand, will only gather strenght if it originates in practice, if it makes practice more cultured by pooling the forces directly interested in the improvement of the standards of living.

Although there exist some initiatives in Hungary which point in this direction, their number is far less than it could be, had the demand for quality not been forced into the background for quite a long time by the chasing after quantity and, moreover, had the exclusive responsibility of the bureaucratic apparatus not rendered local initiative superfluous.

# "INZET": AN INTERMEDIATE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNEMPLOYED

by W. Micke

## Introduction

As part of a longterm research-project on the support of acting capability in organisations of volunteers or voluntary organisations a case study was carried out in an organisation of unemployed people. The purpose of this investigation was to shed some light on the question about the functions performed by organisations of unemployed people in the Netherlands and about how they could function as intermediate institutions in adult education and public information. The investigation has an explorative character and this contribution should be seen as an overview of ungoing research. No definitive results are available at this moment.

The concerned organisation of volunteers is a foundation called "Inzet" (in English something like "Launch"). It has as its principal objective helping people with a university degree or a professional education to find new jobs. Information was gathered making use of participant observation, interviews and the analysis of documents.

We will start this presentation with some theoretical remarks on andragology and worklessness. Subsequently we will give a view on the development and organisation of Inzet. The some important activities of Inzet will be described (Job Capture Seminar, Seminar for Re-entering Women and District Work) to finish with some tentative conclusions.

## Andragology and worklessness

Widespread worklessness should be seen as a societal phenomenon with considerable negative consequences, social as well as individual. For instance one could point at the social waste accompanying enduring structural worklessness (De Swaan, 1986). Worklessness is seen by many people as the most serious problem in society at this moment (Tinbergen, 1986). But worklessness is not only damaging society at large, above all it creates a harmful situation for those directly involved. Prolonged worklessness may lead to suicide, psychotic or psychosomatic disturbances, emotional instability, reduced self-esteem and drugs addition (Kastner, 1985). Other consequences may be the abolition of social networks, undermining of self confidence, feelings of doubt about one's capabilities and usefulness. (Warr, 1984). Although solutions for the problem of worklessness perhaps should be realised on an economical and political level in the first place, more and more people are confessed that educational activities could contribute to an amelioration of the situation.

In his inaugural oration Van Gent points at the growing worklessness and at retirement, whether premature or not, as asking for andragological approach (Van Gent, 1978). But in general andragologists do not seem to have been very quick in realising the challenge of the situation.

In Great Britain residential colleges have been slow in responding on the destruction of the economy. One of the exceptions being Northern College, which is involved intensively with activities especially developed for people without employment since 1981 (Field, 1985).

If andragology is the science concerned with the problem of the devepment of acting capability, then the situation in which people loose their employment seems to be one of the most important fields of research for andragologists. And if we agree that acting in a creative and flexible way requires an environment in which certain necessary conditions are met (e. g. situations with a challenge for problemsolving), being unemployed, in so far as this condition is not met, means an attack at the acting capability at one's disposal. According to the degree that people can be engaged in meaningful activities, we could expect them to be less vulnerable for damagement of their mental health than people who can not dispose of such activities.

Since the degree according to which people are forced to inacitivty is differing in different countries, there may be promising possibilities here for a comparative andragological investigation. It would be interesting for instance to compare the situation in Belgium, where people are forced to inactivity in a high degree with the situation in the Netherlands, or Sweden, or other countries.

A theoretical model for acting capability which could render good services for the development of andragological approaches of worklessness was explained by Kastner (Kastner, 1985). With this model separate acts of employed and unemployed people can be compared. The model has the advantage that it affords the possibility for theoretical based therapeutic (or andragogic) action.

According to this model acting capability and flexibility must be recovered or maintained in the first place. That is only possible by exercise or training. Also the furtherance of an open minded perception of objective situation or tasks may be part of a training effort. People who are in a depressive state caused by worklessness tend to overestimate the difficulty of tasks and to underestimate their own problemsolving capacity.

Warr points at the scope for developing individual counseling and support systems to help unemployed people. He thinks that such procedures and networks can cover practical matters about welfare benefits and training, career and personal counseling, the exchange of skills and other resources, and generally may provide activities and ways to pass the time. According to Warr many such forms are now available (in Great Britain) but there is also a great need for systematic monitoring and evaluation, in order to learn about processes and outcomes (Warr, 1984).

## Development and organization of "Inzet"

Inzet was founded in 1975 as a private enterprise of an owner of a chain of employment agencies. He had noticed that there was a need for coaching higher level personnel for employment.
Accordingly the following objective was stated for Inzet:

> "The objective of the foundation is to further own initiatives of people searching for employment in society, either in engagement or as an independent entrepreneur as well as to search for means and ways by which, respectively, along which, such initiatives could be undertaken with success."

Inzet tries to reach this objective by:

1. Publishing information about the labour market;
2. The creation of possibilities for contact on behalf of people who are searching for a job and the provision of advise and information (regional).
3. Founding an office as the center of activities.
4. Furthermore Inzet should be able to do everything which could enhance the fulfillment of the objective as described above.

Fairly quickly it became clear that there was a great demand for the activities of Inzet. The enormous demand threatened Inzet with a collapse. The available financial funds were insufficient and in April 1976 a request for a grant was submitted to the department of Social Affairs and Employment. In January 1976 representatives of Inzet and the substitute director general of the Office of Employment Provision from the department of Social Affairs and Employment, Kruse, meet each other.
The main objectives of this meeting are the legalizing of Inzet and the subsidizing of its activities.

Kruse points at the fact that there is no money available for new activities for the time being. In 1977 Inzet is saved at short notice by the hospitality of some professional organizations; they don't charge Inzet for the accomodation they afford.

At the end of 1978 Inzet is officially recognized by the department of Social Affairs and Employment and is subsidized on the condition that Inzet will perform an "umbrella function" for the unions of the professions who are facing the same problem as Inset. In 1982 the subsidy of the department of Social Affairs and Employment earmarked for experimental activities stops. Inset succeeds in finding a temporary solution by means of co-operation with "Tempo Team", a private employment agency. In may 1984 a new strategic plan for Inset is presented. Some of the formulated principles are:

- the assets of the afforded services must match the costs of the organization;
- the explicit striving for (semi) professional quality of the several services and of the necessary conditional activities.

To be able to realize the chosen objectives a restructuring of the organization was proposed according to the so called "sociocratic model" (Sociocratisch Centrum, 1984).

## Activities of "Inset"

During the first year of membership of Inset every participant has free access to a number of facilities. Personal consultation is available to a maximum of four hours. For extra hours a (low) fee is charged.

Inset provides the following activities:

- Job Capture Seminar (for a description see below)
- Technical advice and coaching for application (letter and curriculum vitae)
- Training for application interviews
- Psychological and legal advice
- The Vacancy File for High Level Personnel
- Co-operation with an employment agency (Tempo Team)
- Recruitment and selection via personnel bureaux
- District Work (regional meetings and group work)

Recently an application training for re-entering women was developed. A description of the Job Capture Seminar and the Training for Re-entering Women will be given below. The first activity will be described from within (as indicated above) based on participant observation, the second from without based on document analysis and interviews with the concerning trainer.

### 1. The Job Capture Seminar

### Objective

The objective of the seminar is to afford and to explain the necessary methods and techniques for effective functioning on the labour market for the participants.

## Design

The seminar is an intensive three day-course with elaborate review of individual qualities, capacities and possibilities of the participants. It is organised in a very well equiped conference center. The maximum number of participants is twelve and there are about ten seminars in a year. The course starts on Thursdays at 10.00 am. and is finished on Saturday after a shared lunch. The end of the official programme is at 10.15 p.m. Subsequently there is opportunity for talks with other participants or trainers till 12.00 p.m. The seminar has a high staff/participant ratio: there are at least four trainers at every seminar.

## Programme

After the opening and a short introduction of the programme by the staff of the seminar, an inventory is made of the expectations of the participants as they introduce themselves. This takes the rest of the morning. After lunch there is a presentation with discussion about the subject: "marketing of the own person". The essential principles of marketing and the application of those to the own person as a "product" on the labour market are explained. Subsequently information is provided about the subject "free application". The last part of the afternoon session is devoted to instruction about an exercise in which participants interview each other in pairs about sixteen issues. Each of the participants writes the answers from his or her partner on a flipover sheet which is divided into 16 squares (see fig. 1).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Personal information | 5. Goals, What do you expect from near future? | 9. Character | 13. Physical and psychological situation |
| 2. Education courses | 6. What did you do to find a new job | 10. Strong qualities | 14. Material and financial |
| 3. Experience | 7. Schedule of the day (9 a.m.-6 p.m.) | 11. Weak qualities | 15. Reactions from other people (family, friends etc.) |
| 4. Public positions, memberships | 8. What do you do with your free time? | 12. Social skills | 16. Suggestions... |

fig. 1 the sixteen squares sheet

On Thursday evening participants interview each other. On Friday during the morning and afternoon the answers from the interviews are discussed in groups of six participants with at least two trainers for each group. Participants present the "sixteen squares sheet" from their partners. Subsequently the other participants and trainers may ask questions and put forward suggestions. Suggestions may be: "Write a free application" or "Take an application training". Suggestions are written down in the sixteenth square. On Friday evening there is a training for the application interview. Participants take part in the same pairs as with the "16 squares exercise", intermittently as interviewer and as applicant. The interviews are recorded with video equipment. Interviewers are provided with some specific suggestions to include in the interview by the trainers who make use of all information they could gather about the applicant.

The videorecordings which are produced at Friday evenings are discussed in the total group on Saturday mornings.

About two months after the seminar there is a follow up meeting in the office of Inzet. Besides participants keep in contact with members of the Inzet staff if necessary.

## 2. Seminar for Re-entering Women

In July 1985 Inzet was asked by the Regional Employment Office in Spijkenisse to organize an application training for women wanting to re-enter the labour process. The target population consisted of women who had left the work situation six years or more than six years ago.

The Employment Office had organized an automation course focussed at textwriting together with a private course institute (SMA). The objective of the Emloyment Office was to find work for the women. From the intake of the women it became apparent that this strategy was somewhat to restricted and that more would be necessary.

The team of Inzet expected to start with fairly uncertain and unexperienced women. It showed up however that many of them had a fairly well developed general background and could dispose of a lot of life xexperience. During the preparations it showed up that the contacts between the participants and SMA were very unsatisfactory. The approach of SMA was experienced by the women as very wanting. They were angry about the authoritarian behaviour of SMA personnel. The trainers of Inzet think this is owing to the fact that SMA has no expertise for working with the groups concerned. On the other hand the Employment Office pushed the responsibility off to SMA. As a consequence of this situation Inzet started in october with a group of very critical women. However the approach of the Inzet people appeared to be appreciated and they got the confidence of the participants.

## Design of the course

The course consisted of twelve lessons. After each lesson the participants got homework. The course was built up from four blocks with each a central theme. The themes were:

1. Women and learning
2. Women and their position on the labour market
3. Women and application behaviour
4. Women and work situations

The first block was an attempt to develop a positive attitude concerning learning from own experiences. It became evident thereby that it was often difficult for participants to see this in relation to being interviewed for job application or writing an application letter.

In the second block attention was paid to prevailing attitudes about the position of women on the labour market and to the development of new skills such as delegating, working together and speaking in a group, which are essential for functioning in many jobs.

In the third block paticipants occupied themselves with subjects like writing a letter for application, interview training (with video recording), theory of self-marketing and making individual marketing plans (with much attention for the motivation for the concerning job).

Subjects treated in the fourth block were assertivity, making appointments, handling conflicts, bargaining, criticize and being critized.
There were four groups of nine participants each. There were two teams from Inzet both consisting of one man and one woman.

## Some results of the seminar

Generally the women are satisfied with the approach of Inzet. As important factors contributing for their success the trainers themselves mentioned: the experience with the Job Capture Seminar, the way in which the trainers could handle and express their feelings, and the exemplary function of one of the female trainers (mother of four children and successfull in her job). She could thus speak from her own experience.

An important result of the training was that participants had acquired better knowledge about their own possibilities and capicities. Almost all women estimated their possibilities as to low. None of them did estimate her possibilities as to high. At the beginning of the training most of the women thought themselves to old to be able to get a job. At the end a few of them had some doubts.

The trainers felt that they should work more based on shared interests. The political definition of personal problems could perhaps contribute to the enhancement of self-confidence.

The seminar also had an important influence on the internal relationships of Inzet. As the Labour Bureau paid Inzet a considerable sum for the seminar, the question about the distribution of the money arose.

The trainers claimed a part of the money and thus got in conflict with the management of Inzet which shared the opinion that Inzet personnel as volunteers should not be rewarded. As management did not want to give in, the trainers threatened to withhold their co-operation from the Job Capture Seminar. This was a successful strategy and management agreed. Subsequent discussions about the voluntary and non-profit character of Inzet led to the idea to create a separate foundation for the professional activities of Inzet. This idea has still to be worked out.

## 3. District Work

To be able to realize the second objective on Inzet (The creation of possibilities for contact on behalf of people who are searching for a job and the provision of advise and information, the country was divided in five districts (North, North-West, South-West, Center, East). Participants often live at a great distance from Utrecht and thus an obstruction for the necessary regular contact between participants and staff could be romoved.

Activities taking place in the districts are: the exchange of information, restoration of social contacts, thinking about the creation of substitute work and tackling regional problems. From time to time guest speakers are invited and in some districts people take part in various forms of group work. Since then participants have been engaged in forms of group work as:

- work groups (e.g. application letters, promotion, job capturing)
- project groups (e.g. the joint organization of a new business)
- workshops (exchanging advertisements)
- talking groups (the "club idea", exchange of information)
- contact groups (hardly structured meetings organized more or less regularly)

It proves difficult to develop good functioning forms of district work. In March 1983 the leading committee of district Center delivers a paper which contains a vision on the problems of district work and a number of suggestions for improvment.

One of the main issues seems to be about terminology and definitions. For instance the distinction between "profit" and "non-profit" activities is questioned. Furthermore there seem to be great differences in practices between the several districts. The structure of the organization is seen as very obscure. The paper concludes with a list of twenty suggestions for improvement.

In December 1984 the staff of Inzet adresses a paper to all participants who are willing to take part actively in actively in group work. They point at the enormous amount of insight, information, knowledge and experience about the most diverse subjects. Why shouldn't it be used? The improtance of self reliance and own activity of participants is stressed. Subsequently some experiences of participants with group work are summed up:

- A great number of participants wants to talk in a personal way about their own situation, problems and person in a small and confidential group.
- Participants of district meetings and group work generally are not conscious enough of the use and effects of group work. This process can be set in motion by getting involved with the problems of fellow participants.
- When a central theme is lacking, motivation of participants tends do drop. The groups are getting the character of a social obligation and the main objectives are lost out of sight.
- When good reports from the group are missing, this may create obscurity for the concerning district circle or district coordinating circle.

According to may start group work in which participants try to realize previously established objectives by decission with consent. The groups must report to the district management, which in turn must report to the district coordinating circle.

In November 1985 a "New View on District Work" is published by the central office of Inzet in Utrecht. As the number of participants in district work stays small, a structural change of district work is seen as necessary. Again the principle of own activity of participants is stressed. As a new objective "the execution of tasks for Inzet" is included. Furthermore it is stressed that the district management should care for the forming and stimulation of work-, action-, talk-, discussion- and project groups and a number os suggestions for activities in the districts is included.

## Some tentative conclusions

Inzet is an intermediate institution in the sense that it is situated between government (The Department of Social Affairs and Employment and Regional Employment Offices), the professional organizations, commercial enterprises as outplacement offices and employment organizations and the participants. As such it has some typical transitional characteristics. Alternately Inzet has been supported by each of the organizations at its borders. Apparently Inzet does a job which the other organizations are not able to do or were not able to do.

Apart from the general problems and malfunctioning of the Regional Employment Offices, they were not equipped to intercede for the category of middle and high level personnel. The same holds for the commercial organizations. They consisted mainly of head hunters who had experience with capturing applicants but not with capturing jobs.

Some of the most succesful outplacement companies are an offspring of Inzet and were founded by former participants of Inzet. And the professional organizations, at last, were to small to carry the burden of their workless members.

Inzet is an organization of volunteers in two respects. In the first place the participants are volunteers in the sense that they are not paid for their activities. In the second place till quite recently the staff of Inzet consisted also of people who were not paid, being themselves unemployed and having been recruited from the participants. In some way or another they all live from unemployment benefits.

However, as we have seen allready, some of them succeeded in getting a paid job again by doing more or less the same work as they did when they were with Inzet. Of course age is a critical factor here. The other side of the coin implies that reasonably stable functioning in Inzet is only possible starting from a certain age. As this is changing now, it seems very desirable that Inzet could find new forms in which paid staff and volunteer staff could cooperate together.

Another aspect of the transitional character of Inzet is connected with the fact that participants take part in trying to leave the organization as soon as possible. In this respect it is very difficult for Inzet to become a really flourishing organization of volunteers. Perhaps a partial remedy could be found by developing more close relationships with the professional organizations.

With the Job Capture Seminar, the Seminar for Re-entering Women and several other activities Inzet affords forms of adult education and public information at a level which is likely to be inattainable by government, commercial or professional organizations. The critical factor seems to be that Inzet can dispose of very capable and experienced staff who know themselves what it means to loose your job.

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# THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN SOCIO-CULTURAL ANIMATION

by Katalin Talyigás

The 1948 turn of events, i.e. the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has brought about radically new social, economic and cultural conditions in Hungary. The relations of ownership underwent a fundamental change in both agriculture and industry; a new conception of economic and social policy emerged. The Hungarian Communist Party gathered strenght; the two great parties merged; nationalisation took place. Social organisations were reshaped to conform to the new political relations (the role of trade unions changed, SZOT, the Hungarian Trade Unions Council was established; the role of youth organisations changed, DISZ, the Association of Working Youth was founded; the women's rights movement was centralised and new, centrally initiated organisations, such as MHSZ, the Hungarian Association for Defence, were created). Another post-1948 event of decisive importance from the point of view of educational policy was the formation of the local and regional councils of administration. As a result of the above processes, the role played by the local social activities in public education control was taken over by a dual system of state supervision. The ideological background of centralisation was the ideal of the democratisation of culture.

The wish to open up all channels of culture to the peasants and workers emerged as a clear-cut striving. The satisfaction of the labour force demands and production-orientedness became decisive criteria.

One of the greatest economic and social transformations of Hungarian history, accompanied by a most dynamic change of the social structure, occurred in the fifties (it stretched over to the sixties as well). However, the intensive development of industry was carried out among rather backward urbanistic conditions. The members of the lowest social stratum (the former landless labourers), who were given nothing at the time of the land distribution, went over to industry where they were employed as unskilled workers. Their living conditions were radically altered overnight, but did not become any better for that. Neither were the peasants newly endowed with land in a much better position: they barely (if at all) grew accustomed to the new relations, when their happiness was swept away by the discouraging introduction of produce delivery and by the forced collectivisation of agriculture. The petit bourgeois masses of the towns were afraid of the political changes, while those members of the intelligentsia who obtained leading positions lacked the professional skills and knowledge necessary for considering administration a service and not a form of dominance. The reaction of the educational system to the tasks accumulated by the large-scale social and economic transformation was -- and, in my opinion, still is -- overdue and ambiguous.

The development of the economy and the concomitant restructuring of society (migration, mobility, etc.) imposed vigorous labour-training demands on public education as well; these tasks were given in concrete forms, broken down into appropriations.

As a result of the contradictions of the development taking place in the 1950s, in practice, the officially proclaimed goals of public education were always subordinated to the short-term objectives of economic policy.

Although the extensive development of public education was fully justified from the point of view of progress, one should be aware of the fact that the inevitable contradictions associated with this phase of historical development were greatly deepened and enhanced by the distortions of policy. Impatience, the wish to rush achievements, fed on the illusion that the shaping of the consciousness of the masses, their necessary and desirable education, and the establishment of the human conditions of production could all be realised within a short period of time. Moreover, regarding the masses to be educated as a homogeneous multitude rather than in their complexity turned out a mistake. The efforts were expected to bring about a general improvement of cultural standards.

The managers of cultural policy discarded the traditions of the past, and founded radically new institutions (such as the homes or houses of culture for example) which completely ignored the needs, demands and possibilities of the given social environment.

This system of institutions provided for a cultural policy controlled from the top, aiming for passive absorption and disregarding the first and foremost objective of all the previous forms of public education, namely the enrichment of the human personality and the encouragement of self-education and of the spontaneous activity of the various communities.

The system of culture houses -- communal institutions designed to fulfil a number of function -- was developed in the fifties. As a basic institution of the cultural revolution, the house of culture had as one of its main tasks the legitimation of the socialist system of values and its jelling into a tradition (beside the improvement of educational standards and the provision of entertainment facilities for the masses).

Owing to the historical causes and processes -- reinforced by post-1945 organisational development -- outlined above, the educational institutions were assimilated by the centralised and hierarchical system of control. The same model of control had prevailed before 1945 as well, but then the picture was coloured by the presence of a great many private, market-oriented organisations, most of them functioning in the service sector.

The survival of this basically centralistic tradition characterised by vertical chains of control is of decisive importance from the point of view of our main topic. Bringing the quasi-totality of public education under the sway of the administration strengthened these processes and led to the establishment of a specific map of educational organisations copying the settlement structure of the country. This system is divided into a centre (the capital), where most decisions are taken, and counties and county centres (counties of cinema, theatre, museum, educational centres etc.).

State control implies a certain authority and supervision, but also a system of redistribution. Despite the existence of markets and profits of some sort in some branches of education, the appropriation for culture and education is a residue of a budget sum divided up by fixed shares. For quite a long time, the planning of education has been characterised by central control building structures from the top down; implementation, on the other hand, was "relatively easy", for the simple reason that the bulk of the financial resources was to be spent on centrally defined goals, according to centrally defined specifications and mechanisms, while the allocation of the negligible sum that remained was pushed on a forced trajectory by the tensions of the unsolved problems.

The redistribution model governing the cultural sphere can be characterised as follows:
- the state centralises the sum appropriated for culture;
- it allocates it via its apparatus(es) according to the daily (short term or "crying") needs;
- the financing of culture grows partly or fully independent of the actual purchasing power of the population.

(Private or secondary channels to satisfy the needs appear simultaneously.)

According to the ideology behind the model of redistribution, certain general social tasks, such as the assurance of equal access to the cultural services, irrespective of income, can only be fulfilled this way. This model presupposes a state of security and stability. This assumption, however, is evidently false, since
- redistribution results in a separation of cultural needs and real local demand and makes it impossible to estimate the latter;
- it hamstrings the feedback mechanisms assuring that the public have a say in matters of culture and, finally,
- the idea of an "equal chance of access" is necessarily false in a society stratified by profession, education, settlement structure and wealth.

In my opinion, the systems of economic redistribution and of centralised and hierarchical administration are intertwined. They are conditional upon one another, a fact that has exerted considerable influence on the inner functioning, structure and organisational culture of educational institutions. Both the hierarchical-centralised system of control and the system of redistribution bear the distinctive marks of bureaucratic organizations.

In the course of the 1960s and 1970s, the "contents" of the system of culture houses developed in the 1950s changed in several respects. The first great reform strivings of the post-1956 era occurred in the early 1960s (this was made possible by the 1958 directives on educational policy among other things).

The work of educational institutions was determined by a new policy that was more democratic, more tradition-oriented and more up to the standards of the age than its predeccesor. These endeavours were parallel to the reform debates and reform strivings surfacing in economy.

The educational network, too, was characterised by a contentwise transformation, the strengthening of the organisational structure and a significant increase in quantity (this can be traced in law-giving as well, cf. the laws 1961/III and 1976/V, and the 1974 declaration of the Central committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party). One of the results of the reform was the revival of the amateur movement and of the spontaneous organisation of clubs. The society image projected by the ideology governing the educational institutions was altered; the existence of the group as a form of interest integration was admitted.

The model of harmony was replaced by that of "harmony and conflict", dividing society into three main spheres of interest, social, group and individual.

The "harmony-conflict" model integrates the three types of interests: individual interests merge with the interests of the groups which, in turn, match the interests of the whole society. That is, social conflicts are not antagonistic: interests of a higher order envelop the lower-order ones.

As a result of this changed image of society, new organisational channels opened up in the field of public education. Amateur and youth groups and clubs emerged one after the other (an important role was played by the Hungarian television and the radio).

However, the "harmony-conflict" model failed to answer a series of fundamental questions related to the problems of the smaller communities and the human worries remaining outside the walls of the houses of culture. True, the planning and organisation of leisure activities, gathering momentum at about that time, could very well have included adaptation to one's environment, but this was hindered at the time by the prevailing attitudes and also by a lack of the necessary financial and objective means.

In the seventies, the legal status of the so-called social leadership of educational institutions was given great emphasis within the framework of the democratisation of educational policy aimed at the enhancement of local self-government and the decentralisation of power (its division by counties and smaller settlement units).

The social leadership was to provide a forum for the articulation of social demands, but it met with the same fate as the club and amateur movements: it was assimilated by the rigid institutional structure. This is not surprising, considering the fact that its members were not chosen from among the most active members of the groups frequenting the culture houses, but were appointed by the leaders of various other institutions. That is, social management consisted of people who could neither mediate nor orient local demands. Moreover, neither did the professional staff require any non-formal activity on the part of a social leadership which had no say in matters of money, time, space, programs or the engagement of the service of experts.

By the 1970s, the phenomena indicating a great and genuine need for real communities and autonomous organisations had become ever more prevalent. However, the present state of the houses of culture does not allow them to satisfy such needs; they should learn to reckon with the total personality, complete with problems and worries of those who come to them, instead of limiting their interest to the fields of culture, education and entertainment.

This type of service requires a certain type of organisation which could be called a "problem-oriented institution", or a "centre for human services". This type of organisation breaks with the practice of the previous years in several respects. Its society image includes a "model of conflict" acknowledging the existence of individual and conflicting interests. It wishes to secure an autonomy for the individuals to associate, to articulate and express their problems and search for solutions. As opposed to the previous practice, the main task here is the organisation of communities, the provision of a service rather than the organisation of a certain public.

For such a communal organisation/service to function successfully, the staff should adopt an attitude that differs fundamentally from the one required for the organisation of programs and groups, i.e. co-ordination. They should learn to "listen" and "be at service"; they should respect the interests of others and, moreover, they should be fully qualified to provide help.

This model integrates several conceps most of which belong to the domains of social, cultural and educational policy. It requires that the houses of culture adapt to their environment. Instead of pursuing certain centrally defined goals, the cultural staffs should be fully aware of the topical needs of their environment and of the methods of implementation promising the best results (e.g. the employment of experts, psychologists, physicians, sociologists, artists etc.; the further training of the staff, etc.).

This principle of organisation is not new at all. It is quite common abroad and, as we have seen in the first part of the present paper, such institutions, religious and social communities treating the problems of their environment in their complexity, used to exist in Hungary as well. By way of an example, let me refer to the Institute of Social Policy, modelled on the English settlement movement, led by Rezső Hilscher. The Institute was founded in 1912 to help people resolve their most important problems.

The Institute was divided into three main parts. The cultural wing organised various courses, projections, performances, matinés, cultural and reading circles, and various cultural programs, beside having a library as well; the health centre called attention to the most important health problems by age groups, while the third unit, devoted to the safeguarding of interests, provided family care, family protection, legal counsel and various other services such as free legal assistance by lawyers. That is, mental, legal, cultural and political activities all took place within the walls of one and the same institution.

The Ujpest Institute of Social Policy was dissolved in 1950 on the grounds that since there were no more social problems to be solved, and the liquidation of poverty was only a matter of time, social organisations had no *raison d'être* any more.

Since the members of the settlement movement intended to *prevent* social ills, one of their main principles was to share the circumstances of those whom they wished to help, to create optimal conditions for the transmission of the various means of social elevation, i.e. culture, knowledge, the various social skills and information. This attitude implies a notion of culture that differs fundamentally from its usual everyday interpretation. Education in this sense is not restricted to the acquisition of certain cultural values or the enjoyment of the arts; culture implies a quality of life, a certain life-style, a certain conduct. If the organisations of socio-cultural animation undertook the provision of personal social services, too, they might offer their "clients" certain life-resolving strategies (the various *models* we provide to each other included).

In this case, the main task of the institutions of socio-cultural animation would be the management and co-ordination of the various moments of this process. By mastering new patterns of behaviour and action, one becomes capable of putting his/her customary problem-solving strategies aside and of seeing life in a new light.

Such a centre of personal social services could only function if the inner organisational structure was fundamentally revised first. The staffs should be transformed into environment-oriented teams; they should learn to systematise, classify and process incoming information to be able to adapt to the needs of their environment and thus provide genuine help for those who come to them.

The institutions of socio-cultural animation may use any of the above-mentioned means to assure the smooth functioning of personal social services, i.e. they may employ experts, extend the training of their own staffs, organise communities or just provide a place where people can develop and use those forms of education which they consider best suited to their needs. In this conception, the educational institution is an intellectual workshop whose daily activities are in constant agitation owing to the intensive interaction between the organisation itself and its environment. The professional team handles groups, taking a personal responsibility for human destinies. The bars are lifted: those who frequent the institution may also animate or propose programs; experts and laymen work together in well-organised teams, within a well-organised system of information.

This service provides its environment with a communal centre, i.e. with of autonomous and democratic communal life. The fact that people may live a communal life if they wish in turn provides the individual with some sort of a shelter. In other words, communal institutions have a preventive capacity -- they may help resolve the conflicts generated by various social situations or by the changes of life-cycles.

In the course of its history, socialism was repeatedly confronted with serious -- often irremediable -- conflicts generated by the tension between the value system and long-term objectives proclaimed by society on the one hand, and everyday practice on the other. The state should make free civic association for various, including educational, purposes possible but, being a socialist state, it should also assist those members of this multiply stratified society who are in a particularly disadvantageous position. Socialist institutions should adopt a helping -- but not paternalistic! -- attitude. The staffs of the culture houses must not stave off any of the problems that present themselves, whether they relate to malfunctions of the socialisation of the youth, bad dwelling conditions, financial difficulties or the lack of the material or intellectual resources necessary for the improvement of the present situation. One should not forget that these problems have both objective and subjective, social and individual causes. The socially determined "bad situations" -- the majority of which can be attributed to historical or structural causes -- should be overcome by a joint effort in which socio-cultural animation has a significant part to play. The growing demand for a change of the *means*, *objectives* and *organisational framework* is motivated by the complexity of the present economic situation and by the prevailing social tensions. One of the rational and easily perceivable causes of the multifariousness of the objectives is that concrete tasks are always a function of the given conditions/circumstances and, therefore, they necessarily differ from place to place. Thus, for example, tasks formulated at a general level may be invalid or less valid in a given situation, while others that have no priority at the general level may prove most urgent in a special case. Moreover, one and the same problem may also manifest itself in various ways and its solutions may differ accordingly.

Socio-cultural animation should pursue a broad and comprehensive set of goals and tasks set after a thorough analysis and assessment of the actual topical needs; it should aim at the extensive and efficient satisfaction of demands, instead of declining or postponing action on the pretext that the available resources are insufficient.

That is, in the future, the main task is not the uniform treatment of certain top-priority problems, but the implementation of a series of comprehensive measures adjusted to the specific local needs. With the help of socio-cultural animation, these endeavours could be extended to the whole field of societal development.

The work of socio-cultural animators will become more sophisticated and varied in the future; therefore, the economical use, extension and better co-ordination of the financial resources, the implementation of up-to-date know-how, better inter-organisational management and co-ordination (e.g. in the domains of social policy, socio-cultural animation and health care) should be given special emphasis.

The development of socio-cultural animation control is absolutely necessary and justified. The relevant measures implemented so far can at best be considered the very first steps on the path of modernisation. The improvement of the system of resource allocation is also imperative.

The ideas embodied in the long-term conception of cultural development are true of the present situation as well:

- "both the content and the form of our cultural life are becoming more and more varied and differentiated;
- socio-cultural animation in general and the active-communal forms of education in particular play an ever greater role in this respect;
- a simultaneous and inseparable process is [the growth of the relative importance] of autonomous individual creative activity and choice, and the specific cultural activity of bigger settlements. As a result, quality, diversity beside uniformity, will be there in future by the side of quantitative requirements."

Culture, humanity, democracy: these are the indispensable light-sources of value-awareness orientation that my historical investigations have taught me to see.

# FOLK HIGH SCHOOL MOVEMENT AND VOLUNTARY, CULTURAL ACTIVITY, 1930-1945 A HISTORICAL OUTLINE

by János Tóth

## 0. Introduction

In order to assess the social significance and future perspectives of voluntary cultural activity, one has to command a knowledge of its social history, i.e. of the antecedents. Without that, the specific features of the present situation will remain unintelligible. My decision to give a rough description of one of the most significant cultural trends of the period between the two world wars from the point of view of the traditions of voluntaryism was motivated by this realisation. However, the definition of what is actually meant by voluntary social and cultural activity and the subsequent projection of this definition onto the past with a view to measure the past against the present is by no means sufficient to meet such a goal. According to a recent English survey dating from 1983[1], voluntary cultural activity is characterised by the following features (among others): it uses a great variety of approaches, it is the result of some "organic" development, it relies on the democratic bargaining of the parties involved, it bears the traits of informality, the roles of student/teacher may revolve in it, it is more flexible than the corresponding statutory institutions as regards its curriculum, schedules and methodology, and it is usually integrated into some other activity. These considerations do offer a useful way of approach, provided that we also examine to what extent the above features are valid for the international history of culture, too, and then compare our findings to the historical features of public education in Hungary.

From the point of view of our topic, the most interesting aspect of the Dutch and English surveys by B. van Gent and Barry Hake, respectively, on the history of andragogy is their statemant that public/adult education started out as the charity of the upper social strata, and only in a later phase, after the solidification of bourgeois customs and the development of the labour movement, did the specific cultural activities of the various social strata emerge.[2]

The lesson taught by social history is that the more democratic the influence exerted by the upper social strata on the education of the lower ones, the more significant and advanced voluntary cultural activity will be and, moreover, the greater the probability that the various social strata will eventually define their own cultural ideals and practice, i.e. that they will replace paternalistic guardianship by cultural voluntaryism. The corresponding Hungarian development, however, not only followed with a time lag, but it also took place in a different social setting. The quality of voluntary social and, within it, cultural activity is usually a function of the "distance" between state and society on the one hand and of the degree of autonomy enjoyed by the various social groups on the other. Any modification of the social structure is bound to affect the structural roles of culture indicated above. Hence, besides indicating the chronological parallelisms to be found in the history of andragogy, comparative analysis should cover the "case histories" of the respective social structures as well. Such an undertaking would, of course, exceed the limits of the present paper. Therefore, we shall content ourselves with an overview of some specific features - important from the point of view of cultural voluntaryism - of the structure of Hungarian society between the two world wars, to be followed by a presentation (based on the available data of social history) of some special features of East Central European social voluntaryism as they manifest themselves in the practice of the folk high school movement.

## 1. Some Particular Features of the Social Structure

A previously unknown manuscript by Ferenc Erdei on Hungarian society between the two world wars discovered in the 1970s (3) laid the foundations of a radically new approach to social history in the relevant Hungarian literature. For the doctrinaire interpretation of the period between the two world wars judging all the direct historical antecedents globally by their relation to the ideological foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat established in the 1950s still prevailed, despite a marked improvement of our image of the past after the 1960s. This attitutde, however, excluded the possibility of a differentiated approach. As far as our present topic is concerned, the central message of Erdei's long essay is that in Hungary, the capitalists and workers of capitalised agricultural production were not "transformed" into bourgeois classes but remained bound by the bonds of feudal social structure (cf. Table 4). The fact that capitalism was initiated from the outside led to the dominance of a crude business mentality with some colonialistic overtones. The bourgeois stratum of society, developing out of the "looser" elements of the feudal system, differed from the lower strata both in their cultural and ethnic composition (cf. Table 5). The result was a most complex social structure, a historical nation state - the direct descendant of the feudal social structure - with modern bourgeois society as its main structural component. In the hands of the progeny of the Hungarian nobility, the parliamentary system of the constitutional state based on collective participation functioned as a nobiliary feudal state. At the same time, state influence was extended to all spheres of individual and communal life. The interference and dominance of a low-capacity and cumbersome bureaucratic apparatus permeated social life. In the given circumstances, the Church not only regained but even strengthened its conservative influence on economy policy and intellectual life. In this social structure where the institutional framework assuring the free play and action of the social forces was lacking, the bourgeois forces were much too weak to be of great account, and the labour movement was forced into illegality and thus to the periphery of society, voluntary social activity had to take on other forms than elsewhere. The extra-official status of voluntaryism and the existence of other forms promoting the disintegration of the established social system are of primary importance from the point of view of our topic. These trends did not spare the Church, the most significant agent of intellectual dominance, either. Denominational conflicts played an important part in the process in question. The Catholic Church was present on the scene as a hierarchically structured world organisation, as opposed to the Calvinist Church which, as a result of the Catholicism of the Habsburgs, had its tradition of being the persecuted church of the Hungarian people. In the period in question, however, the number of believers decreased in both churches. This tendency, together with the crisis of the modern world, led to the evolution of a work style and methods that differed significantly from previous practice. Missionary activity took on some of the traits of propaganda: it became more rational and wordly. A new type of priest, the "missionary", appeared on the scence. In the Calvinist Church, the same process resulted in a more profound intellectual angrossment, and the more intimate argumentation and attitude of the clergy. New organisations were founded, especially new youth organisations, the two most important ones being the Catholic KALOT and the Calvinist KIE. However, while the Catholic Church, more strongly bound to the state organisationally, formulated its reform endeavours in the spirit of the ideals of the "universal social church", the Calvinist interpretations of the symptoms of the social crisis of the 1930s fed on the intellectual traditions of Hungarian popular radicalism; they tried to establish contacts with the Left urging more radical reforms. The deepening crisis of the semi-feudal agrarian society led to a polarisation within the Church that had also entered the political arena, opposing as it did the lower and higher clergy above all. While in the case of the Calvinists, the "priest of the people" was striving to establish cultural contacts and a social nexus with the lower social strata, the corresponding Catholic process led to the slackening of the traditional bonds of conservative society and of clergy, and hence to freer communication with lay society.

Despite the Catholic majority of the country, the folk high school movement emerging in the 1930s on a voluntary basis was initiated by the Calvinist minority, and most folk high schools were founded by them (6, 7). The lower clergy, the same as the contemporary intelligentsia in general, were influenced most strongly by the group of populist writers (8) representing the democratic alternative having the strongest intellectual impact of all. In the following, we shall describe voluntary cultural activity triggered by their ideas through an analysis of the available data. We shall see in what respect folk high school goals and practice represented an alternative to the official system of public education as a result of their different social scope, their organisational autonomy and relative financial dependence.

## 2. The Folk High School As a Model of Cultural Voluntaryism

### 2.1. The alternative nature of folk high school ideals

Contemporary cultural policy, pursuing the educational ideals of conservative-Christian nationalism, lay great emphasis on making its influece felt in the most populous section, i.e. the village population. The most serious challenge and thus potential alternative to the monopoly of this nation-centred conservative ideology that had become exceptionally strong after the disannexations and the loss of population was due to the fact that the progressive popular trend of the age treated national problems most radically as social issues. The managers of folk high schools wished to implement a similar programme aimed at the social elevation of the peasantry. The various schools and school types, however, show a marked difference in this respect: right-wing anti-communism existed side by side with anti-fascist, anti-German stances, while anti-communism was mostly restricted to contemporary anti-Soviet propaganda. At several places, ethicoreligious education developed into an up-to-date social education treating topical issues. Most concrete programmes insisting on the radical transformation of the political system were formulated at the folk high schools with left-wing sympathies (at Erzsébet, for example). Land reform and voluntary collectivisation, on the other hand, were ideas shared by all schools. The propagation of modern (intensive) farming and assistance to social activity were goals pursued by the KALOT schools above all. The contemporary ideals of state and administrative reform, together with the training of a stratum of new bourgeois and popular managers capable of implementing a system of novel-type self-government were again formulated at most schools (e.g. at the Tata Folk High School). In the cultural domain, one of the most decisive features of the alternative status of folk high schools was their attitude to traditional peasant culture that was disintegrating. As opposed to the stylising-nostalgic pseudo-popular tastes of the middle classes, the vanguard of folk high schools followed the ideals and practice of the Bartókian approach to authentic popular culture and ethnology.

### 2.2. The practical manifestation of folk high school ideals

At folk high schools, the list of recommended reading included, besides the most popular standard manuals of the age, banned authors and works, too, together with the best of contemporary fiction and of social sciences literature (9c). The most renown artists and writers (who had to suffer the molestations of the police from time to time) were frequent guest lecturers at folk high schools. The representatives of popular intelligentsia contributed to the development of a sense of equality, quite alien to the prevailing rigid social hierarchy, by treating the trainee as their equals. Moreover, most folk high schools, especially the Calvinist ones, developed a system of collective self-government with an elected leadership invested with a set of rights and duties. The college system, i.e. the fact that students were together all the time, gave an ideal opportunity for collective/communal training: the trainee, weaned from the closed atmosphere of village life, felt the world open up before them. Several folk high schools, mostly Catholic ones, had their own model agricultural plant as well where students could try their hand at the up-to-date technology of smallhold farming and the various forms of cooperative farming.

## 2.3. Alternative social scope

We shall have to content ourselves with matching two sets of data to show, by way of an example, that, considering the extreme social inequalities, folk high schools offered the only real alternative as far as the prime and ongoing education of poor peasants and village smallholders was concerned, even though it was quite evident from the very start that the movement could by no means solve all the tasks of a comprehensive cultural reform in itself (11, 12). In 1930-31, only 12 per cent of the 1803 students of 18 types of educational institutions (49 institutions in all) specialised on agricultural training were smallholders, while at folk high school, they represented a decisive majority, as can be  seen from the professional distribution of folk high school students. Another distinctive feature is that most folk high school students belonged to the young generation that has had no other opportunity of schooling. Five sixths of the students were below 30, half was between 16 and 24. The quasi-equal participation of women was, of course, out of question: of the 119 folk high schools 90 accepted men only, 14 women only and 15 were coeducational. Most tutors and guest lecturers belonged to two categories, they were either priests or teachers (13, 14). Contrary to the practice of statutory educational institutions, the permanent staff contained unqualified persons, too (association secretaries, for example), who became folk high school teachers  or managers on a voluntary basis. Professionals represent a greater share among guest lecturers. The fact that one third of the continuing staffs of folk high schools was below 30 and more than half below 40 again corroborates the fact that folk high schools gathered the representatives of the Hungarian society of the future.

## 2.4. Organisational alternative and voluntaryism

Mention has already been made of the internal organisational autonomy of certain folk high schools. Folk high school movement as a whole also made an attempt to develop its autonomous organisational framework. A 14-strong Folk High School council was established (with seven representatives of KALOT and KIE each). The Council announced its intention to "brush off state intervention", and the first national meeting of the movement stated that the management of folk high schools was a social task. In the five points designed to regulate the relationship of state and folk high school, the Council declared in agreement that, after having presented their agenda, they claimed "a full degree of internal freedom". The state was to provide financial support for folk high schools as recommended by the Council. Another proposition urged to contact the local commitees of extra-curricular education. It was requested that legal authorities give preference to folk high school students in case of land distribution or settlement (9d). However, although the responsible ministry admitted that the management of folk high schools was a social task, it insisted on the "right of supervision" of the portfolio for the sake of having a "uniform system of national education". Therefore, a previous consent was made a necessary precondition of the establishment of folk high schools. However, after many delays, the relevant ministerial decree was finally discarded, probably already as a result of the war situation (1942). The First Folk High School Panel of Hungarian Writers, a voluntary organisation, opposed the passing of the decree. Their project urging the foundation of a writers' folk high school, on the other hand, submitted for licensing, was vetoed by the authorities.

## 2.5. Funding

Finally, let us see who contributed financially to the establishment of folk high schools, on what terms, and how and from what sources the schools covered their budget. Most buildings to be used for folk high school purposes were put at their disposal by the Church. Their allocation depended on the local church authorities above all even in the case of the uniformly and centrally managed system of the Catholic Church, and even more so in that of the decentralised Calvinist parishes. Our table listing the various sources of financial support (15) indicates that the decisive part of the expenditures was covered by voluntary donations. It was suggested at a session of the first Folk High School Council meeting that folk high school managers should organise "friendly societies" to endow their institution with a "spiritual and financial background". It can be presumed that the activity of these "maintaining committees" mostly depended on the backing given by the local church authorities, while in other cases it actually meant a parish collection or aid granted by the board meeting of the church district and financed from their common fund. Our data go to prove that more than half of the folk high school tutors received no remuneration whatsoever for their work, another indication of the marked voluntary-social character of the movement. Only one third of all full-time employees was given occasional remunerations and one fourth monthly wages. The order of magnitude of the contributions is eloquent proof that folk high school was available for the poorer strata as well. While in 1931-36, for example, university tuition fees added up to Pengő 102 per semester, and the subscription fee was another Pengő 40, i.e. the equivalent of 12 quintals of wheat, in more than half of the folk high schools students paid nothing at all: tution fees were very low and were mostly paid in kind.

## 3. Some Conclusions

Recalling the list of the most prominent features of "voluntary culture" quoted at the beginning of the paper, one will come to the conclusion that the Hungarian folk high school movement emerging between the two world wars was an outstanding example of cultural voluntaryism realised within the East Central European social structure. The "diversity-of-approaches" requirement was met, despite the predominance of ecclesiastical initiative. The movement was the result of an original, organic type of evolution, emerging as it did in the course of and as part of the deepening crisis of agrarian society on the one hand, and the birth of a way out, of the courses open to transformation on the other. The real structural alternative it offered was the decomposition of an established structure from the inside. In Hungary, one may hardly speak of the democratic bargaining of the parties involved in the movement: the teachers and students both belonged to a social stratum having its very first experiences of being treated as human beings. For the same reason, the exchange of roles between teachers and students was also out of question. On the other hand, folk high school managers, intellectuals of peasant or worker origin, did develop a firm informal (brotherly) relation with the communities of students, and even though this relationship was not based on full-scale equality in the modern (bourgeois) sense, it was much more democratic than the standard conservative and authoritarian practice of the day. Similarly, both the goals and practice of folk high schools represented a much more flexible and progressive trend than did state-sponsored public education. As a form of cultural activity, the folk high school movement was integrated into the programme of the comprehensive transformation of the socio-economic and political system because of its organic origins. Moreover, this is one of the facts explaining the unprecedentic mobility and capacity for democratisation of post-1945 Hungarian society. Both the folk high schools of the post-World War II era and the generations of folk high school students graduating before 1945 played a most significant part in these processes. It is all the more regrettable that the political "ice age" setting in the 1950s crushed this most promising organic trend of voluntary social activity as well. This, however, will have to be discussed in a separate paper.

## Notes and Tables

1. Volunteers in Adult Education. A research report for the Advisory Council by Dorothea Hall. ACACE, Leicester, 1983. 132 p.

2. B. van Gent, History of Andragogy in Netherland. ms. Published version: B. van Gent, Over andragologie. En inleiding tot de wetenschap van het welzijnswerk. Boom, Meppel/Amsterdam, 1982.; Barry Hake, Social Movements and the Development of Adult Education in the United Kingdom: The Social History of Non-Vocational Adult Education in the Period 1780-1924. Dept. of Adult Education, State University of Leiden, 1985. 39 p.

3. Ferenc Erdei, A magyar társadalom a két háború között (The Hungarian Society between the Two World Wars). Valóság, 1976, Nos. 4-5.

4. Professional distribution of the Hungarian population, 1920-1941 (per cent)

| | 1920 | 1930 | 1941 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Agriculture | 55.7 | 51.8 | 48.7 |
| Industry, transport | 30.1 | 32.2 | 34.9 |
| Other | 14.2 | 15.9 | 16.4 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

5. Territorial distribution of the Hungarian population (per cent)

| | Towns | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Budapest | Other | Villages |
| 1910 | 14.6 | 19.6 | 65.8 |
| 1920 | 15.4 | 19.9 | 64.7 |
| 1930 | 16.6 | 19.7 | 63.7 |
| 1941 | 18.4 | 19.9 | 61.7 |

Source: Magyarország története (The History of Hungary), Vol. 8, Budapest, 1976.

6. Denominational distribution of the Hungarian population in 1930 (in per cent)

| | |
|---|---|
| Catholic | 65 |
| Calvinist | 21 |
| Lutheran | 6 |
| Israelite | 5 |
| Other | 3 |

The territorial distribution of denominations shows significant differences: in the Transdanubian region, 80 per cent of the population is Catholic; in the Great Plain and in the Trans-Tisza region, three quarters or at places even two thirds of the population are Calvinist. Israelites are to be found in the towns above all (they made up one-fifth of the population of Budapest).

7. Institutions and organisations organising folk high schools (N = 119 folk high schools, 195 courses)

| | |
|---|---|
| Catholic organisations | 20 |
| Protestant organisations | 51 |
| Local authorities | 30 |
| Levente* | 4 |
| Other cultural associations | 14 |

*(Levente is the semi-military organisation of the youth.)

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11. Rate of participation of the various social strata by school types (per cent)[*]

| | poor peasants and workers | landowners and bourgeois strata |
|---|---|---|
| teachers' training school | 6,8 | 93,2 |
| school of commerce | 6,5 | 93,5 |
| secondary school | 5,1 | 94,4 |
| girls' college giving job qualification | 2,7 | 97,3 |

12. Professional distribution of folk high school students (per cent)

| | |
|---|---|
| wealthy peasant | 16 |
| middle peasant | 65 |
| poor peasant | 8 |
| other | 11 |

13. Professional distribution of folk high school tutors (continuing staff only, N = 105)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Priest | 38 | Physician | 1 |
| Teacher: Man | 6 | Lawyer | 1 |
| Woman | 4 | Association secretary | 7 |
| High school teacher | 3 | Folk high school director | 6 |
| Secondary school teacher | 35 | Social worker | 1 |
| Teacher trainee | 1 | Total | 105 |
| Administrative official | 2 | | |

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[*] The proportion of poor peasants and workers as compared to the entire population was 56,4 per cent; that of landowners and bourgeois strata was 43,6 per cent. Source: István Balogh, *A parasztság művelődése a két világháború között* (Peasant Education Between the Two World Wars). Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1976.

14. Professional distribution of folk high school lecturers (N = 814)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Priest | 139 | Landowner, smallholder | 13 |
| Teacher: Lower grades | 100 | Bailiff | 22 |
| Upper grades | 277 | Military officer | 11 |
| Administrative official | 76 | Gardener | 7 |
| Physician, chamist | 49 | Writer, artist | 10 |
| KALOT secretary | 23 | Clerk of private office | 15 |
| Lawyer, jurist | 24 | Engineer | 6 |
| Veterinary | 11 | MP | 3 |

15. Funding of folk high schools

| | |
|---|---|
| Communities (dioceses included) | 26 |
| Ministries | 15 |
| National Fund for the Protection of the People and the Pamilyes | 10 |
| Local authorities | 8 |
| Other, private donations | 60 |

# VILLAGE EXPERIMENT

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## Assessment of the Siómente Village Experiment

by Csaba Varga

The title of the paper is somewhat astonishing, I suppose. A village experiment? Here and now? Yes, a village experiment in Hungary, in the mid-1980s. An experiment covering several villages and aimed at the revival of culture, a search for autonomy, the development of communal self-organisation, a democratic offering of culture and a reconstruction of identity.

First let me touch briefly upon the ideas and hypotheses which preceded and stimulated the experiment (it would be premature to present a coherent reform theory as yet).

The categories of organic/inorganic development apply to Hungary, too. By organic development is meant the process when society builds its present from its past in a way that allows it to meet, as far as possible, the inevitable challenges of the future as well. At present, it is a typical feature of East Central Europe that inorganic institutions/processes give the semblance of being organic, while organic elements appear inorganic, i.e. alien to (Hungarian) reality. Thus, for instance, there exists a widespread public consensus according to which the big-hall house of culture, a par excellence inorganic form, is an efficient cultural workshop, whereas in reality most houses of culture display a sham activity only owing to the confusion regarding their functions and roles. Folk high school, on the other hand, which most consider an invalid and obsolete form of education, good only to boost a nostalgic peasants' romanticism, might easily turn out to be one of the most up-to-date forms of present and future socio-cultural animation, allowing an intensive transmission of the values of culture and inspiring communal reform actions.

Hungarian settlement structure also developed inorganically. In the past decades, village development was lagging far behind the development of towns. Villages have received but a scrap of the central funds, and, what is more important, this settlement disadvantage resulted in most serious social disadvantages: in the villages, jobs are scarce, the labour market is far worse and the chances of education a thousand times smaller than even in the smallest of towns, while the improvement of the standards of living often takes an inhuman self-exploitation. (This list could be continued endlessly.) Thus, social conflict is a result of the fact that the inhabitants of the small and medium-sized villages are in a multiply disadvantaged situation. (I do not wish to imply thereby that those who live in town are necessarily and always in a far better position.)

Another distinctive feature of organic coherence is that the individual can identify with his/her position and evince a spontaneous drive to devel his/her settlement - and not only because statutory care is insufficient or non-existent. In my opinion, settlement identity underwent a considerable regression in most Hungarian villages, despite the fact that village councils usually report a considerable amount of voluntary work and that community development contribution was voted for in practically all the villages. This state of affairs has several reasons, one of them being an aftermath (unexplored as yet) of recent history: in the villages, the sense of civic responsibility "stagnates", because the strong external inhibitions of the 1950s have become internalised. Few believe that they have a say in matters of public interest. Hence, there is a minimal (individual or communal) propensity for development.

Another feature of decisive importance is that the decentralisation of administration stopped short at the level of the professional arbiters of the settlements. Many of the local inhabitants are at a loss even when it comes to the work of the councils, the alleged forums of "self-government"; even the local flow of information is unsolved. As a result of low-level and partial participation in this rudimentary form of self-government, village societies remain fragmented of necessity, i.e. there is a great distance between those who make the decisions and those who are to act on them. The country has no chance to switch over to organic development unless public interests are reconciled, multilateral co-operation is achieved, and a democratic democratic partnership established between the top and the bottom, i.e. between the various social strata, at the level of the basic cells of society, in the local societies.

Owing to the absence of organic coherence, past and present, economy, society and culture, are still in disaccord. It is impossible to determine which paths are leading where. The senses of development and distance are lacking. Local history is either unfathomable, or else it can at best be grasped at the level of primitive quantitative data only. The settlement is not regarded as a common property. The inhabitants do not feel that the village belongs to them: they do not evince a proprieter's attitude and they are not at all convinced that its future depends on them. Economic development, protracted modernisation, the slow increase (or stagnation) of the standards of living - all these factors are insufficient in themselves to stimulate a propensity for the improvement of the local social and human conditions on the part of the local inhabitants. For an organic community to be born, its members should first become sovereign citizens of society, risen from a subject status. Only a community-minded citizen is interested in communal development.

To reconstruct and develop Hungarian patterns of thinking in terms of people and nation, they should be extended to thinking in European terms on the one hand, and be given an organic base in the form of a local-communal way of thinking in terms of villages/towns on the other. Not even a village experiment aiming at the mobilisation of a narrow social space can do without an assessment of the short- and long-term European chances. And, vice versa, broad-range historical thinking risks becoming empty and diluted without a precise and realistic knowledge of the concrete circumstances of a given settlement, its present, modest, and potential, richer, possibilities included. The concepts of nation and continent will remain empty phrases unless one perceives the correspondences between the European centre and periphery on the one hand, and, within this framework, between the various social "periphery situations" (that of the villages, for instance) on the other.

For the last twenty years there has been an acute dilemma whether we should adhere to the conventional catching-up strategy of the periphery, i.e. carry on an overcentralised reform governed by one main central power and adopting external models, or else whether thousands of various, subsidised, interactive, local reforms are required which meld external and internal models. I usually use the slogan "Three thousand local reforms instead of a single central one" to express this idea. However, like most slogans, this, too, is somewhat inaccurate. First of all, there is no need for the number of local reforms to equal that of the Hungarian settlements; it should rather correlate with the number of the economic social cultural subregions (towns and their environs) of Hungary. As a matter of fact, the Sió River villages experiment, too, was to be conceived in a subregional context originally, but, in the given circumstances, the subregional centres are the most difficult to mobilise. Another default of the slogan is that this hierarchy of social relations is a speciality of the European (or, rather, the East European) periphery. In an ideal case, three thousand (or just three hundred) local reforms might bear the same fruits as a single comprehensive central movement. In the case of Hungary, the most plausible solution seems to be the speeding up of reforms at bouth ends of the social scale simultaneously, with the added rider that local reforms should be relatively autonomous and spontaneous. However, if radical social innovation is to be the resultant of a series of local reforms, it is quite natural to ask in what way the social (political) centre can assist this process. Thus, for example, the revival of local everyday culture could hardly be carried out without taking into consideration its organic and interactive relation to high culture. Accordingly, central assistance should include, beside the granting of funds and the coordination of the various local reforms, a democratic "offering" of the new high culture created by the vanguard of Hungarian intelligentsia in the last ten to fifteen years which has so far remained an exclusive property of the social elite and is hardly accessible for the masses as a result of the hierarchical structure of culture.

Since the most significant part of local reforms - beside the elaboration of various scenarios of regional socio-economic development and the management of the switch-over to the path of development chosen collectively - is the value-oriented development of culture feeding on both local and high culture, the notion of culture needs constant reinterpretation. Culture is not restricted to the arts and sciences; it expresses and interprets society and gives an outlet to its occasional impulses and "vapours", but, what is more important, it can be used for manipulative purposes as well. This means at best that it will stimulate dynamic social motion and inspire a renewal of society. That is, culture is a quality of society, a quality of individual and communal life and activity. It is the expression of a given state of development and a means of proclaiming the norms of the next, desired, stage. Of course, in a society developing inorganically, the role of culture is under- and overestimated at turns, but there is no doubt as to the fact that the present social, economic and human conditions are definitely "uncultured" compared to the present historical challenges.

It follows from this logic of development that the role of socio-cultural animation cannot be restricted to the development of values, the provision of information, the renewal of the local channels of communication or the related resurrection of local communal life. Neither is it equal to the maintenance of old institutions of education or assistance given to the new ones. Its role cannot be grasped in terms of prohibition, permission or management at all. It should include the expert development of a set of theoretical and organisational conditions allowing the inhabitants of subregional settlements to reorganise their culture continuously and autonomously and to improve their life quality thereby. In other words, it promotes the qualitative reconstruction of local communities. That is the reason why socio-cultural animation should consider the elaboration and inspiration of local reforms and contribution to their social control an essential task.

This organic - and functional - conception of socio-cultural animation requires the presence of a new breed of animators capable of fulfilling a series of brand new special tasks. Of course, the manager-animator safeguarding the interests and administering the affairs of several autonomous groups or communities will remain a constant element of animation scenery for quite a long time. But one can already discern the outlines of another type of animator's attitude based on the idea that a local community (or an amateur group or cultural association functioning within it) is to be encouraged and inspired from the inside. All signs go to show that social and cultural caregiving to those individuals, families and social strata whose conditions are particularly disadvantageous will constitute a separate branch of animation. This type of caregiving includes personality and family protection and the salvation of communities. Local research, the analysis of social facts and the results of an improved awareness of the group's own interests will also constitute a more or less separate profession. The management and operation of the local mass media - the local broadcasting station, cable TV, the local newspapers, etc. - is a separate job already at present.

One should not forget that the animators, intellectuals of various professions and functions, participating in the village experiments are "employed" by the community whose interests and values they are to represent and not by the state or by local administration. Any organic local reform must of necessity distinguish between (but not oppose!) institutional development and the qualitative reconstruction of settlement societies. In other words, the local community does not wish to shed responsibility and devolve caring for itself onto the more or less efficient organisations of local administration. The settlement is determined to become its own master; the individual is no longer satisfied with his/her subject's existence. Socio-cultural animators (and others) who are both the experts and inspirators of communal and self-development may play an essential role in this process of awekening.

Village experiments. Here and now. Among the given circumstances and conditions. Village experiments rejecting both sham develoment and utopias. Experiments in the true sense of the word - they can either succeed or fail. The fate of local reforms will show whether we have got entangled in a disillusioning Quixotic struggle or we have managed to take the necessary precautions to prepare for the actual historical chances (provided that such chances exist). We are curious ourselves to know to what extent local autonomy, civilian society and subregional reform can be realised. We are looking forward to learning to what extent the state and its institutions are capable of renewal, but the crucial matter is whether the members of the disorganised and fragmented local societies can actually manage to safeguard their own interests and to initiate the necessary reform processes. We cherish no illusions. But we do not wish to give up anything in advance either.

* * *

Considering our intentions (and not the results!), there are six subregional development experiences in all. Their scenes are as follows: three Bakony villages, three dwarf villages near Dombovár, the settlements of the Káli Basin, Bogyiszló in County Tolna, Tab and its environs and, finally, villages along the Sió River. The Siómente experiment - which is the oldest and most comprehensive of all - was initiated in four villages in the north-eastern corner of County Somogy: Balatonszabadi, Siómaros, Siójut and Ádánd. An analysis of the partial results, more and more tangible constraints and adaptable conclusions of this single village reform would fill hundreds of pages.

The present paper will content itself with a brief assessment of the Siómente experiment. This will of necessity be somewhat biassed, since the author himself participated in both the contrievance of the village experiment and in the encouragement of its autonomous motion-evolution. The results obtained so far are minuscule compared to the original target conception; however, they are quite considerable compared to the state of affairs of four years ago. That is, the present situation is elevating and disillusioning at the same time. The existence, pure and simple, of such an experiment is, no doubt, a happy phenomenon. Moreover, the presence of similar endeavours promises conclusions of a more general relevance in the near future. However, one should entertain no illusions: the "qualitative reconstruction of society" could by no means have been achieved by the Sió River villages experiment. The most one can say is that we have managed to increase the number of the intellectual, institutional and "dispositional" channels necessary for a switch-over to organic development. Considering the serious constraints, this in itself is a unique achievement.

Our socio-cultural experiment consisted of ten moments (sub-experiments).

The most powerful economic unit of the subregion is the agricultural and horticultural co-operative farming the lands of Siófok and of the four villages in question. This technologically advanced co-operative, that would hold its own in a European comparison in several respects, intends to regenerate through a process of internal economic and organisational decentralisation, a semi-reform which, however, is insufficient in itself to stimulate intensive intra-co-operative entrepreneurial strivings. Like most development-oriented agricultural units, the co-operative, too, is in a grim situation owing to lack of capital, small profits and an occasional, inevitable, bad year here or there. Still, it takes a conscious effort to tend the intellectual development and communal reconstruction of the four villages in question. That is the reason why it has decided to take a leading role in the present experiment.

Several ideas of smaller or greater economic enterprises cropped up in the associations and at the folk high school. However, although such initiatives would be essential, for, beside improving the living standards of the population, they would assure the financial-economic stability of the cultural associations, these ideas lie fallow at present for lack of the necessary organisational framework, liquid capital, market know-how and, most important of all, entrepreneurial experience. Again, the dilemma is whether one should give direct assistance to initiate the first, model, economic enterprise, or rather let those with entrepreneurial strivings start off one or several economic experiences, taking into account their recognised interests and possibilities. It would be a great achievement if the associations could be made to function as background institutions for such enterprises.

Even the partial success of the village experiment initiated by the co-operative depends on whether the inhabitants of the four villages (not only the members of the co-operative) are ready for and capable of self-organisation, their only chance for the systematic several decades-long reconstruction of the local community.

As a part of this program, three of the four villages have already founded their cultural associations (which they call "circles of education"). These associations might play an ever greater role in the articulation of interests and the democratic distribution of culture, beside making a home for local social life. The Kossuth Circle of Maros has been active for three years. That is, the workshops of communal cultural autonomy (which, at Maros and Siójut have to act as substitutes for the state institutions of education) are established. At Ádánd, on the other hand, cultural self-organisation is still non-existent, despite the efforts and soul-searching of several years. Of course, so far the associations (each of which has its own "village house" by now) have only developed a new framework for communal life and, although that in itself is an achievement of a considerable importance, it remains to be seen whether they will actually be capable of high-quality performance as well.

A related event is the imminent revival of the more or less reconstructied culture house (which finally employed a young professional animator). At Szabadi, a youth club (bearing the name of Karinthy) and an amateur dramatic company have been established already; the village and school libraries fused and were given a bigger hall; the series of films projected for adults and children respectively attracted attention beyond expectation. Several similar groups were established within the Siójut circle of education as well. As indicated by the above, one half or even two thirds of the programs offered by the culture houses and associations corresponds to the traditional educational activities. One might conclude that the models of cultural organisation dating from the 1950s and 1960s have got fixed to such an extent that they appear to be organic internal models by now, whereas in reality they conceal and cover earlier, autonomous, forms of socio-cultural animation. The main problem is that the present system of animation and of communal life offers no efficient and up-to-date alternatives that might take the place of these obsolete forms. Accordingly, organisational autonomy does not necessarily imply new, autonomous forms of action of high quality.

The third section of the Sió River villages experiment was a school and education reform initiated in the Szabadi primary school. (The Maros school which is at present receiving the lower grades only and the "undivided" school of Jut where the lower grades are taught jointly both belong to the Szabadi school.) After some hesitation, it was decided that this experiment was to be built on external models only, despite some proposals of the board of teachers. It began with a one-year-long refresher course for the staff, including a critical evaluation of their own work and a discussion of the various alternatives of development. No doubt, the establishment of an association, a cultural communal form with definite local traditions, is a much easier task than the painful-grievous alteration of the program of a rutinous "school plant". Anyway, after the preparatory phase, the teachers themselves were to decide about the implementation of reforms and their timing. So far the only certainty is that, in the lower grades, they will adopt a combination of the Szentlőrinc model and of the Zsolnay method of mother-tongue instruction. A parallel process is the complex reform of the technology subject that will, in future, include the children's preparation for their future roles as farmers and autonomous workers. It is of primary importance, irrespective of the experiment, that the Szabadi school receive at least four new classrooms and several adjacent units in the near future. This, incidentally, means also that for the next five years at least the invariably small development funds of the village council will be absorbed by this project which would also require an enormous amount of voluntary work on the part of the local population.

Parallel to the planning of the school reform was the launching of the folk high school, the first such organisation is Hungary after a break of nearly four decades. Our main objective was to give the members of the local circles of education a chance to educate themselves, to reconstruct local identity and to prepare for the local reforms. This is the fourth section of the Siómente experiment. The folk high school was announced two years ago by the co-operative and the three educational associations. The first grade consists of two months of "folk high school weekends", the second of nine days of folk high school college and the third of one or two days of diploma "examinations". Some fifty persons applied for admission in the first year, mostly members of the co-operative, some commuters and two artisans and two private farmers. Twenty one of them accomplished the college phase. Folk high school courses consist of lectures and debates on complex subjects and decision games focussing on personality and community development.

The complex subjects include personality theory and social, economic, historical and cultural studies. Personality theory might as well be called "human studies", since it covers the most recent results of psychological research the same as the ontologies. The historical studies might be termed "Hungaricism", concentrating as they do on Hungarian history; instead of being limited to the history of events, they embrace economic and cultural history together with their respective "moral lessons", all the more so since the main obstacle in the way of local autonomy is the lack of the necessary intellectual and moral capital. At the end of each year, college students are to demonstrate their successful and responsible work by holding a lecture (a so-called "inaugural address") or by presenting a piece of handicraft. Those who finish folk high school in Spring 1986 will receive the title "Graduate Citizen" of the settlement, a title of a purely moral rank "only". Our experiences so far suggest that approximately half of the participants go to folk high school to enhance their local and national bonds, while the decision of the other half is motivated by a wish to become a more sovereign personality and citizen. Of course, folk high school will be discredited both if the majority of the students fail to gain a sovereign role in society or if they assume idealisticaly that the world can be changed radically from one day to another.

The fifth, sixth and seventh parts of the experiment were all devoted to construction; however, it would be utterly false to consider (re)construction a mere act of architecture. The quality of individual and communal spaces mirrors the actual state of the settlement, while a given building (or an ensemble of buildings) may project faith, toughness and self-esteem to local society. The reconstruction of the traditional village centres is an urgent task in all four villages. So far Szabadi has achieved most: the financial resources of the council were sufficient to cover the costs of the reconstruction plans and of the external renovation of the school, the culture house and the council. The plans and building of the new school also belong here. Each of the three associations has its own village house by now; two of them were funded by the co-operative, the third by the local council. The Maros village house, containing a library, a lounge, a museum, a pub and a big hall is ready, except for the court and surrounding park which need tidying. The Jut village house is half finished, but the local historical collection can already be seen; the next phase of its construction is being planned now. The Szabadi association was given an old official quarters that was altered a bit to meet its present purpose. It is too small to contain either a museum or a pub, but this is no drawback, since the nearby house of culture and the library fulfil these functions anyway. The establishment of the association "headquarters" put an end to state monopoly in local of socio-cultural animation; this, however, is but a procondition of the democratisation of education and of its being handed over to the local communities.

At Balatonszabadi and Siójut, new village districts are to be built. So far, Siójut has only won the right to do so, since up to the present all extension of the village was strictly forbidden. At Szabadi, on the other hand, fifty new houses, planned individually by renown architects, are being built near Dózsa Manor. The structure of the new quarter will resemble that of a medieval village of the Árpád era. Beside the ingenius formal solutions, another common feature linking the garret-spaced buildings is the big central piece where the members of the family may spend their time together. If the new village district will actually be ready by end-1986, it would in itself be sufficient proof that the intellectual and physical energies consumed by the experiment were not wasted. The main thing, however, is not that finally a new-type village district bearing the distinctive mark of organic architecture will be brought to life (although that, too, is most important, since organic architecture wants no less than to create buildings which harmonize with their dwellers, their surroundings, the region, the country, Europe and even the globe). It is even more significant that these activities, the same as the existence of the associations and of the folk high school, go to prove that surrender, incompetence and disillusionment, the renunciation of present and future, are not the sole answers to the present multiply disadvantaged socials village/individual situations. It is not at all unlikely that the overpowering internal and external constraints will bring the Szabadi local reform to an end in a short while; however, the example of survival and renewal stands even in case of failure.

The eighth section of the experiment consisted of a reform of the local mass media. Here, too, only the first steps have been taken so far. The associations broadened the scope of local publicity by their pure existence. Another development of considerable importance is that Siómente, the gazette of the co-operative, was transformed into a local paper for the four villages (albeit so far they could not manage to have a sufficient amount of local, communal and family information published). The bigger half of my sociographic volume on Szabadi and Maros was published under the imprint of the Research Institute for Culture under the title Falutörténet és falureform (Village History and Village Reform). The chapters in question treat the problems related to the fragmented nature of local societies and the lack of communal autonomy. Another local demand (expressed at the folk high school as well) was the setting up of a local broadcasting station, but so far this project has got no further than the phase of planning and the appraisal of difficulties.

A related topic is the gradual reconstruction of the local sense of history (the objective of the ninth section of our program), promoted, among other things, by the preparation of the written history of the villages, the exhibitions of local history and the memorial park planned near the recently excavated ruins of a medieval (fortified?) church, to be accomplished as soon as the financial situation allows it. The future of the experiment is greatly endangered by the fact that the economic difficulties make it impossible for the patron co-operative to realise the promised communal and cultural investments.

The tenth point of the experiment was the planning and management of the village experiment itself. The Sió River villages experiment chose one of a series of possible models: regeneration was initiated by a local potentate (the co-operative) and by the societies of the four villages. However, one should not underrate the importance of the professional, moral and occasionally financial, assistance provided by the progressive members of certain central institutions, such as the Research Institute for Culture, the National Institute of Education, the Patriotic Popular Front, the Society for the Dissemination of Scientific Knowledge etc. The same is true of the county council and of the county library. Of course, it is rather unusual for a village experiment aiming at village and cultural development to be managed by a co-operative in co-operation with the local bodies of management. This setup has both advantages and drawbacks: the need for democracy, entrepreneurial strivings and culture is self-evident for modern farming units; however, the co-operative did not have the necessary close combat training required in the fields of politics and culture. The experiment was based on the assumption that, sooner or later, the institutions of local self-organisation and the local communities will become strong enough to be able to do without the umbrella of the co-operative. So far it would be difficult to decide whether the achievement of the relative active autonomy of local societies is a realistic option or an illusion.

Village experiments. Here and now, in any way that presents itself. We are still far from organic development and equally far from having restored the cultural autonomy of the villages. Similarly, it is to be doubted whether the vanguard of the local citizens would be capable of unrelenting struggle to achieve communal autonomy. The main overall objective of the experiment was to determine whether such chances existed at all. However, all that one can honestly say at present is that while it would be false and irresponsible to advocate a "no chance" position, it would be equally false and illusory to expect that subregional reforms would become radical and comprehensive in the near future.

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**HARANGI, László** (1929); fellow of the Educational Research Institute of the National Centre for Culture, Budapest. Studied Hungarian and English at the Eötvös University Budapest. Publications on free-time-communities, voluntary organizations and the history of cultural contacts between Hungary and Japan, furthermore on leisure institutes in Hungary and the United States, as well as on public high schools in Denmark and Sweden.

**KATS, E.** (1950); lecturer in research methodology at the Department of Andragology, State University of Leiden. Studied sociology at the Free University of Amsterdam, specializing in sociology of education and research methodology. Publications on labour conflicts, ideology and mass media, adult education, audio-visual programmes in social welfare work and developments in social research methodology.

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**KOVÁCS, Piroska** (1947); county manager of socio-cultural activities on mental hygiene at the Tata Town Cultural and Youth Centre. Graduate of the School of Socio-Cultural Animation and Librarianship, former teacher at the School of the Communist Youth Organization of the Komarom County. Elected secretary of the Professional Organization for Mental Hygiene of the Association of Hungarian Andragogues. Publications on the relationship of mental health care and socio-cultural animation.

KRUDDE, C.O. (1948); studied social-pedagogics and orthagology at the University of Amsterdam. Since 1981 she is working at the Ministry of Welfare Health and Cultural Affairs as staffmember/head of the Section Voluntary Work Policy, Staffdivision Research and Development.

KUTI, Éva (1951); research fellow of the Institute for Cultural Research since 1978. Graduated at the Karl Marx University of Economics. Subseguently with the Central Bureau of Statistics. Research topics: branches of infrastructure, with special regard to the economics of education, health care and culture. Did field work on regional differences in cultural endowments, the local financing of culture, the economic problems of the publishing branches and made international comparisons of the cost-effectiveness of cultural spending. Publications on the above subjects.

MARÓTI, Andor, Ph.D (1927); assistant professor in adult education at the Eötvös University Budapest. Graduated in Hungarian and journalism at the same university. Former journalist and civil servant at the Educational Department of the Ministry of Culture. Between 1970 and 1983 he was the head of the Department of Adult Education of the Eötvös University Budapest. President of the Adult Education Section of the Hungarian Pedagogic Society, member of the National Presidential Board of the Society for Public Information on Science, and member of the Cultural Subcommittee of the Hungarian UNESCO Committee. Received his Ph. D. in 1977 for a thesis on the evolutionary progress of the concept of culture. Further publications on education in general and adult education in particular, methodology of training and information.

MARSCHALL, Miklós Ph.D (1953); fellow of the Methodological Institute of the National Centre for Culture, Budapest. Graduated at the Karl Marx University of Economics. His main research topics include the place of culture in centrally planned economy, the causes of disadvantaged economic situation of the cultural sphere and problems of financing of culture. Did field work on the local financing of culture and the economic problems of the publishing branch. His present concern is with the economic problems of the film industry. Publications on the above subjects.

MICKE, Walther (1939); training manager of the National Auditing Office at The Hague. Graduated in psychology at he University of Amsterdam. Former fellow of the Interuniversity Institute of Value Research and of the National Board of Agricultural Research. After being advisor at a psychological testing bureau and head of the department of human resources development in a retail organization he was temporarily appointed at the Department of Andragology, State University of Leiden.

NYILAS, György (1949); fellow of the Methodological Institute of the National Centre for Culture, Budapest. Studied at the Kossuth University Debrecen and Eötvös University Budapest. Graduated in socio-cultural animation, librarianship and sociology. His main tasks include the management of the village research of young people and editing of publications on cultural history, sociology and sociography to back up village research. Own publications on the existence of intellectuals, socio-cultural animation, village research and the local financing of culture.

**SOÓS, Pál** Ph.D (1939); professor in andragology and head of the Department of Andragology, Kossuth University Debrecen. Graduated from the same university in history, and in English from the Eötvös University Budapest. Candidate of Sciences in History. Publications on E. Szabó's aims in workers' culture and cultural policy, culture and regionalism, Georg Lukács' views on the theory of culture and cultural policy, main thrusts of Hungarian cultural policy 1944-1949, mass culture and cultural policy.

**TALYIGÁS, Katalin** (1943); lecturer at the Department of Public Culture, Eötvös University Budapest. Graduated in adult education at the same university. Former research fellow of the Cooperatives' Research Institute of the San Andreas University, La Paz, Bolivia. Publications on social pedagogic experiments, training of social workers and the relationship between social and cultural policy.

**TÓTH, János** (1947); vice-director of the Methodological Institute of the National Centre for Culture, Budapest. Former civil servant in the field of cultural management and former journalist. Graduated as adult educator and librarian at the Teachers' Training College of Szombathely and, subsequently, in sociology at the Eötvös University Budapest. Editor of the serial Society and Education. Publications on cultural policy, sociology and theory of education. He is undertaking research into the socio-historical and sociological context of education, and of the Hungarian folk high school movement.

**VARGA, Csaba** (1946); writer and sociologist, secretary of the Hungarian Writers' Association. Studied aesthetics and sociology at the Eötvös University Budapest. Started his career by publishing literary sociographies. Main research topics are the structure of Hungarian settlements, the village and public administration, small towns and the quality of life, social changes and voluntary organization.